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T O

The WORSHIPFUL the MAYOR,
RECORDER, ALDERMEN, BAILIFFS,
And other MEMBERS of the COMMON COUNCIL
Of the ancient and loyal BOROUGH and
CORPORATION of LIVERPOOL,
The following SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES
On the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE,
Are most respectfully inscribed

B y

Their most obedient

And most humble Servant,

RAYMUND HARRIS.

P R E F A C E.

UNWILLING to incur the displeasure of every friend to justice, religion and humanity, I hasten to inform the Reader, who has cast an eye on the Title-page, that, in attempting to establish the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, nothing is farther removed from my thoughts, than to set up as an advocate for injustice and oppression: I am as much at enmity with both, as the most sanguine advocate for African Liberty may be. I am well apprized, that acts of violence and oppression, however authorized by numbers, however firmly established by long use, and a kind of traditional inattention to the sufferings of persons in an abject condition of life, can never change the criminality of their nature. Whatever is essentially incompatible with the sacred and inalienable rights of justice and humanity, can claim no place in the catalogue of virtues, even of the lowest rank; it must be for ever branded with every mark of infamy and guilt.

FAR then from attempting the least encroachment on the rights of Virtue, my sole drift in the present Tract is to examine with the utmost impartiality, the intrinsic nature of the SLAVE-TRADE: that is, whether the Trade itself, prescinding from every other incidental circumstance, which may have rendered the practice of it hateful, or even criminal, be in its own nature licit or illicit,

Now

Now, it being evident in the first place, that the intrinsic morality or immorality, licitness or illicitness of all human pursuits is essentially inherent to the pursuits themselves, and not at all depending on our habits or ideas of *Right* and *Wrong*, which are but too often influenced and darkened by prejudice, interest, and other passions; and, it being equally evident on the other hand, that the declarations of the Written Word of God are so many incontrovertible decisions, by which we are to judge of the intrinsic licitness or illicitness of such facts as are registered in the Sacred Volumes; it follows necessarily, that, one of those facts being undoubtedly the SLAVE-TRADE, no arguments can be so forcible and conclusive, towards evincing the inherent lawfulness of it, as those Oracular decisions of the Word of God, which give a positive sanction to the Trade itself.—It is then by enforcing these unerring decisions only, the surest guide to direct our judgements in forming a just estimate of the merits of the present Controversy, that I mean to vindicate the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE; not by patronizing such crying enormities and abuses, as are said to be perpetrated in this most ancient commercial pursuit.

SHOULD the sanction of divine authority appear evident in favour of the SLAVE-TRADE, from the testimonies I shall produce in the series of my Researches, I shall consider myself perfectly disengaged from the most distant obligation of answering such objections, as are not grounded on the same divine authority: an authority of that irresistible weight of conviction, that every person, who has any pretensions to religion, must immediately assent to, however

however plausible or ingenious the opposite arguments may appear, when viewed through the scanty light of mere human reason and sense.

THE scope of the following Researches being evidently to try the merits of the present Controversy by the Sacred Canons of the Written Word of God, I can expect conviction only from such persons as are not so far destitute of every sentiment of religion and good sense, as to disbelieve the divine authenticity of those Sacred Writings, in which the Finger of God has left in indelible characters the visible impression of his Wisdom.

Now, as these Sacred Records contain transactions relative to the SLAVE-TRADE, as practised in all the three religious Dispensations that have appeared in the World since the formation of the first of men to the present time, I shall, accordingly, divide my Scriptural Researches on that Trade, into three separate Parts: in which I shall successively prove, that the SLAVE-TRADE is perfectly consonant to the principles of the Law of Nature, the Mosaic Dispensation, and the Christian Law, as delineated to us in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God.

I HAVE prefixed to the whole a few positions or *Data*, which, I trust, will be found unquestionably true, and exactly conformable to sound reason; in order, that I may not be interrupted in the sequel with unnecessary repetitions of general principles, nor be in the least constrained to enter into a formal confutation of arguments, which do not immediately affect my subject, and that the Reader may see at one view the very fundamental principles of those inferences, which
I draw

I draw in vindication of the SLAVE-TRADE from the Scriptural Passages I have selected in the course of my Researches, out of a greater number of the same import I could easily produce.

THE Scriptural passages are literally transcribed from the Protestant Vulgar Translation of the Bible; which, being the most generally received in these Kingdoms, will, of course, have a greater weight of authority than any other with the major part of my Readers. The Edition I use is that which was published in London by John Bill and Christopher Barker in the year 1669.

WITH respect to composition, I can pretend to neither elegance nor style: a Foreigner, unacquainted with the least element of the English language till the twenty-seventh year of his age, can have no claim to either: if he can but arrange his periods with a tolerable degree of grammatical accuracy, and express himself with sufficient clearness, method, and perspicuity, he has reason to expect every indulgence from the native candour of an English Critic.

IN the Advertisement annexed to the first Edition of these Researches, to which I prefixed the foregoing Preface, I declared myself unable, for want of sufficient leisure, to complete the whole of my Original Design; which was to close the Work with some SCRIPTURAL DIRECTIONS for the proper treatment of Slaves. I have since been informed, that the execution of that design would not be unacceptable to several distinguished Characters, who, espousing with the greatest zeal the interests of Humanity, have expressed a desire of seeing them protected in the practice of Slavery by the same Divine Authority.

Authority, by which that practice is so strongly enforced and justified. Unable, as well as unwilling, to resist the powerful influence of their generous wishes, I could not forbear considering myself under a tacit engagement to realize my first Design. It would be a pleasing reflection to me, if I had the least reason to flatter myself, that the perusal of the **FOURTH SECTION**, instead of disappointing the expectations they may have conceived, may contribute in some degree to gratify their benevolent wishes.

THE republication of the former **PART**, however unnecessary with respect to this Addition, is yet become of indispensable necessity with respect to the Subject of the **REVIEW** that follows it. The Authors of the several illiterate as well as illiberal Pamphlets lately published against that Tract, have so disfigured it by deliberate misrepresentations, mutilations, and imputations of Tenets no where to be met with in the Scriptural Researches, that, whoever has not perused the latter, and will trust to their imperfect quotations, and artificial references, will inevitably become a proselyte to error, and a dupe to their design. To convict my Antagonists of the insidiousness of so mean an artifice, and to afford every Reader, unacquainted with my former Tract, a fair opportunity of confronting their objections, candidly stated in the **REVIEW**, with the several passages to which they refer, I could not think of publishing the one without republishing the other along with it. Save the trifling errors of the Press, which crept into the first Edition, and are corrected in this, the two Editions are exactly uniform to a tittle.

DATA.

[illegible]

D A T A.

I.

THAT the Volume of the Sacred Writings, commonly called the HOLY BIBLE, comprehending both the Old and the New Testaments, contains the unerring Decisions of the Word of God.

II.

THAT these Decisions are of equal authority in both the Testaments, and that that authority is the essential veracity of God, who is TRUTH itself.

III.

THAT, as there can be no prescription against the authority of God, whatever is declared in any part of the Scriptural Records to be intrinsically good or bad, licit or illicit, must be essentially so in its own nature, however contrary any such declaration may be to the received opinions of men for any length of time.

IV.

THAT, as the Supreme Legislator of the World is infinitely just and wise in all his decisions respecting *Right* and *Wrong*, and is no ways accountable to his creatures for the reasons of his conduct in the government of the World; so it must be a degree of presumption highly criminal in any creature to refuse assent to those Decisions, only because he cannot comprehend the hidden principles of that impartial justice, which characterizes every decision of God.

A

THAT

V.

THAT no person can be supposed to acknowledge in fact, that the Holy Scriptures are the infallible Word of God, unless he acquiesces without reserve in every Scriptural Decision, however incomprehensible the reasons and motives of those Decisions may be to him.

VI.

THAT every person, who professes to acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be the unerring Word of God, must consequently assent to every Scriptural Decision without reserve, only because he believes them to be the declarations of God; who, being TRUTH itself, can neither err himself, nor lead any one into error.

VII.

THAT, if one or more Decisions of the Written Word of God give a positive sanction to the intrinsic licitness of any human pursuit (for instance, the SLAVE-TRADE), whoever professes to believe the incontrovertible veracity of the Written Word of God, essentially incompatible with the least degree of injustice, must consequently believe the pursuit itself to be intrinsically just and lawful in the strictest sense of the word.

VIII.

THAT no advantages whatever attending the prosecution of an unlawful pursuit, nor any abuses whatever committed in the prosecution of a lawful one, can so far affect the pursuits themselves, as to render the latter intrinsically criminal, or the former essentially just.

IX.

THAT, as no private or national advantages whatever can alter the inherent turpitude of a pursuit essentially

essentially unlawful; so no arguments whatever, built solely on the strength of those advantages, will ever justify the SLAVE-TRADE, till the same be proved essentially just and lawful in its nature.

X.

THAT, as no abuses or mal-practices whatever, committed in the prosecution of a lawful pursuit, can ever alter the intrinsic licitness of it; so no arguments whatever, built solely on the strength of those abuses, will ever evince the intrinsic deformity of the SLAVE-TRADE, any more than that of any other lawful pursuit, where abuses are committed, unless the same be proved essentially unjust and illicit.

XI.

THAT, if abuses and mal-practices, committed in the prosecution of a lawful pursuit, can be checked and prevented by Legal Authority, the private and national advantages arising from that pursuit, and the inconveniencies attending the suppression of it, joined to its intrinsic licitness, ought to have a very powerful influence towards not abolishing the prosecution of that pursuit.

XII.

THAT, if abuses and mal-practices, though evidently subject to the control of the Legislature, are to be considered as sufficient arguments to suppress the SLAVE-TRADE, without any regard to its intrinsic licitness, every other branch of Trade, in which abuses are committed, ought, on the same account, to share the same fate.

SECTION I.

Scriptural Researches on the licitness of the Slave-Trade, shewing its conformity with the principles of the Law of Nature delineated in the Sacred Writings.

I. **T**HAT period of years, which elapsed from the day on which *God created Man in his own image* (a), to the day, on which He gave his Laws to the Children of Israel on Mount Sinai (b), is generally called the period of the Law of Nature. The exact duration of this period is a matter of controversy among the Learned. Archbishop Usher, whose chronological accuracy in the computation of scriptural years is much admired, reckons 2513 years between the Creation of the World and the promulgation of the Mosaic Law. But be this as it may (for no difference in computation can affect the subject of my present Researches), it is evident from the tenour of the Sacred Records, that, between the creation of Adam and the promulgation of the Mosaic Law, the Dispensation of the Law of Nature, commonly called Natural Religion, or the Religion of Nature, was the only true Religion in the World.

II. SIMPLE as the principles of this Religion may appear, directed chiefly to worship One, Supreme, Eternal, Being, the Creator and Governor of all things, and to chuse and act in exact conformity to the inward dictates of sound and unbiaſſed reason in every transaction of life, where *Right* and *Wrong* were left to the choice of Man; it would be exceedingly difficult, as well as perfectly extraneous
to

(a) Genesis, c. 1, v. 27. (b) Exodus, c. 20, &c.

to my present subject, to digest those principles into a regular Code of those particular laws and duties, which constituted the whole system of that Religion. I have not engaged to display the whole frame and structure of Natural Religion: I am to shew no farther, than that the principles and laws of that Religion, as far as we find them delineated in the Sacred Writings, not only never forbade the SLAVE-TRADE, or hinted the most distant opposition to the prosecution of it; but that, the same being frequently exemplified in the constant and uninterrupted practice of some of the most faithful observers of the laws and principles of that Religion, under the visible protection of God, whose favourites they were, the laws and principles themselves were in perfect harmony with the practice of the SLAVE-TRADE.—Two very singular instances of this kind, verified in the conduct of two of the most distinguished Characters within the above period of the Law of Nature, ABRAHAM and JOSEPH, will, I flatter myself, be sufficient, without mentioning others, to justify my assertion, and set the present Controversy in the clearest light of Scriptural conviction.

ABRAHAM.

III. In every place of Scripture, where mention is made of this Venerable Patriarch, he is uniformly represented as a perfect pattern of every virtue. The strongest faith in God (*c*), the firmest reliance on his promises (*d*), and the readiest and most unreserved

(*c*) Gen. 15. 6. Rom. 4. 3. Gal. 3. 6. James, 2. 23. (*d*) Ibid.

reserved obedience to his commands (*e*); the most sympathizing humanity to every fellow-creature (*f*), the strictest justice and integrity in all his dealings with men (*g*), and the utmost disinterestedness of heart (*h*); infine, the greatest love of peace and harmony (*i*), together with every other religious, domestic, and social virtue (*k*), are the distinguishing characteristics of his person.

IV. OWING, no doubt, to these exalted virtues, he is frequently represented in Scripture in familiar intercourse with God (*l*); who, in innumerable places of Holy Writ, styles himself emphatically *The God of Abraham*, as the most acceptable person he had on earth: he calls him *His Friend* (*m*), and makes the most exalted panegyric of his virtues, when, appearing to his son Isaac after the death of his Father, he speaks to him in the following remarkable and comprehensive words: *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws* (*n*).

V. NOR is his unimpeachable character, as a righteous man, less conspicuous in the writings of the New Testament; where, among many other testimonies of his irreproachable life, the Son of God himself, who always speaks of him as one of the most faithful servants of his Eternal Father, rebukes the Jews for having so far departed from the rectitude of Abraham's conduct, as not to be entitled to the appellation of his Children; for, *If ye were*

(*e*) Gen. 22. v. 1--13. (*f*) Gen. 18. 23, &c.

(*g*) Gen. 21. 22, &c. Gen. 23. 7, &c. (*h*) Gen. 14. 22. 23.

(*i*) Gen. 21. 22, &c. Gen. 13. 7, &c. (*k*) Gen. 18. 19.

(*l*) Gen. 12. 1, &c. Gen. 15. 1, &c. Gen. 17. 1, &c. Gen. 18. 1, &c.

(*m*) Isaiah, 41. 8. (*n*) Gen. 26. 4, 5.

were Abraham's children, says he, ye would do the works of Abraham (o).

VI. Now, it is very remarkable, that, among the works of Abraham, the very faithful, obedient, humane, just, disinterested, righteous, and virtuous Abraham, who constantly obeyed the voice of God, kept his charge, his commandments his statutes, and his laws, and found such acceptance with him, as to be admitted to the familiarity of his friendly intercourse; it is very remarkable, I say, that there should be found among his works the practice of dealing in human flesh, the practice of purchasing with money those of his own species, and making them *Bond-Slaves* (p), without the least intimation being ever given by any of the inspired Writers, that his conduct in this particular, where the natural rights of justice and humanity are said to be so essentially interested, was ever reprov'd, or even discountenanced in the most distant manner, by any private or public intimation of God's displeasure.

VII. AND what can we reasonably conclude from this uniform silence of the inspired Writers? but that the practice of purchasing Slaves was never accounted in the sight of God a violation of any of the laws of the Religion of Nature, For, is it credible, or, rather, is it possible for any one to believe, consistently with the ideas we ought to entertain of the infinite holiness of God, in whom dwelleth essentially the fulness of justice, that he would style himself *The God of Abraham*, in preference to any other; that he would vouchsafe to honour him with the appellation of *His Friend*; that he would bless in his seed all the nations of the earth

earth (*q*); that he would declare he had obeyed his voice, kept his charge, his commandments, his statutes, and his laws, without excepting any one; or that Jesus Christ would have ever commended his works without any restriction whatever, if the SLAVE-TRADE, so publickly and so constantly practised by Abraham, had been an iniquitous, unnatural pursuit, essentially opposite to the sacred Laws of Nature, to the natural rights of justice and humanity?

VIII. THE force of this powerful inference, considered even as a mere negative argument in favour of the intrinsic licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, carries such an irresistible weight of conviction, that it amounts, in my opinion, to a positive approbation of it: it being otherwise impossible to reconcile the justice of God with his own scriptural decisions concerning the essential impartiality, and eternal unchangeableness, of its nature.

IX. THAT this positive approbation, this sanction of Divine Authority in favour of the SLAVE-TRADE, so visible in the conduct of God, eye-witness to every transaction of Abraham's life, is not a bare conjecture, or a mere negative inference of a passionate advocate for slavery, but the real intent and meaning of the Written Word of God, will appear evident to the most zealous advocate for African Liberty, who, divesting himself for a moment of every prejudice, that the love of humanity may have created in his mind, will dispassionately examine with me the striking circumstances of the following Case. It is that of a BOND-SLAVE in the service of Abraham; which, as related in the Sacred Writings, contains such interesting particulars, that,

that the SLAVE-TRADE has the indisputable sanction of Divine Authority, even when attended with circumstances not of the most pleasing complexion to the eyes of humanity.

X. THIS very decisive fact is thus literally related in the xviith Chapter of the Book of GENESIS.

1. Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children : and she had an hand-maid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar.

2. And Sarai said unto Abram : behold now, the Lord hath restrained me from bearing : I pray thee go in unto my maid : it may be, that I may obtain children by her : and Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai.

3. And Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar her maid, the Egyptian, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to her husband Abram to be his wife.

4. And he went in unto Hagar, and she conceived ; and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes.

5. And Sarai said unto Abram : my wrong be upon thee : I have given my maid into thy bosom ; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes : the Lord judge between me and thee.

6. But Abram said unto Sarai : behold thy maid is in thy hand ; do to her as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai dwelt hardly with her, she fled from her face.

7. And the Angel found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by a fountain in the way to Shur.

8. And he said : Hagar, Sarai's maid, whence comest

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thou ?

- thou ? and whither wilt thou go ? And she said : I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.
9. And the Angel of the Lord said unto her ; return unto thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands.
10. And the Angel of the Lord said unto her : I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.
11. And the Angel of the Lord said unto her : behold thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael ; because the Lord hath heard thy affliction.

XI. ENOUGH have we for the present to observe on this portion of Hagar's history, without proceeding to relate the treatment she received in her Master's house some time after her return.---Here we have a Hand-maid, called soon after a *Bond-woman* by God himself (r) ; born in Arica, for she was an Egyptian by birth, and consequently an *African Slave* ; labouring under every natural disadvantage attending the condition of a Bond-slave ; bought by a stranger, transported from her native Country into a distant land, the Land of Canaan, where Abram dwelt ; that is, transported from Africa into Asia : separated for ever from her dearest relations, friends, and acquaintance, and obliged to wait at hand, and work for the advantage of her Masters.

XII. THE sterility of her Mistress seemed rather to flatter Hagar with the prospect of meliorating her condition, by becoming her Master's wife at the solicitation of her Mistress, but the event proved the contrary, and disappointed all her hopes ; for not only she did not obtain her freedom by becoming

ing his wife, but finding she was with child by her Master, and being, on this account, not quite so respectful to her Mistress, as the latter expected in quality of Abram's principal wife, she was so roughly handled by Sarai, with the permission of Abram, that, unable to bear her treatment, she fled from her house, left her service, and took refuge in the desert. What the correction was, that Sarai inflicted on Hagar, is not particularly specified in the Sacred History: the Hebrew word used upon the occasion, and rendered by the Translators, *dealt hardly*, has such an extent of signification, as may easily convey the idea of a very cruel and oppressive treatment, which, in the actual state of Hagar's pregnancy, must have rendered her affliction much more intolerable and oppressive.

XIII. EVERY circumstance attending the wretched situation of this poor African Slave, who, though legally married to her Master, is kept still in bondage, and forced, as it were, out of his house and service in the condition she was in, through hard usage and severity, though charged with no other crime, but being not quite so respectful to her husband's first wife, as she had been before her marriage, seems to excite compassion, and justify her escape.—Were Hagar's case that of any African female slave now in the West-Indies, and were the same to be tried before a jury composed of some of the present advocates for African Liberty in this Island, one might decide almost to a certainty in whose favour the verdict would be given: the Slave would most probably be declared free, and both Master and Mistress severely reprimanded, if not also condemned in a heavy pecuniary mulct: no other verdict would be consistent with the principles they so publickly avow.

XIV. BUT did Hagar obtain the same favourable sentence at the impartial Tribunal of God, when she pleaded her Cause before the Minister of his justice, whom he deputed to represent his person? Did he approve of her conduct in leaving her Master's house, and quitting his service? Did he hint the most distant reflection on the proceedings of Abram or her mistress Sarai? Did he signify to her, that her quality of Abram's wife, or the severity of Sarai's treatment, even in her actual state of pregnancy, emancipated her from her bondage, rescinded the original contract of her purchase, or that that contract had been illicit and contrary to his laws, or that she might, on this account, consider herself as no part of Abram's lawful property, but at full liberty to dispose of her person as she thought best?—NO:—on the contrary, her conduct was condemned by the Representative of God, who ordered her in his name *to return to her Mistress, and submit herself under her bands*; though at the same time he assured her, that *the Lord had heard her affliction*,

XV. WERE all other scriptural evidences wanted in favour of the SLAVE-TRADE, this Decree alone of the highest Court of Justice possible, this solemn sentence of the Supreme Judge of *Right and Wrong, Who is no respecter of persons, but, in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him (s)*, and who, in the case before us, had an intuitive and comprehensive knowledge of every particular circumstance attending the claims of both the Parties, must convince every impartial Reader, that the licitness of that Trade is evidently warranted by the Written Word of God; who, by the very act of deputing an Angel, on purpose to
command

command the fugitive Slave to return to her Master's house, and submit herself under the hands of her Mistress, declared her to be her Master's indisputable property, and the original bargain or contract, by which he had acquired that property, to be just and lawful in its nature: that is, that the SLAVE-TRADE, even when attended with circumstances not altogether conformable to the feelings of humanity, is essentially consistent with the sacred and inalienable rights of justice, and has the positive sanction of God in its support; however displeasing those circumstances may be to his fatherly Providence, as they appear to have been in the case of Hagar; who, in alleviation of her sufferings and affliction, was promised the honour of being the Mother of a numerous progeny, branched out afterwards into twelve powerful kingdoms. (†)

J O S E P H.

XIV. WHOEVER has the least acquaintance with the principal human Characters exhibited in the Sacred Records, must readily acknowledge, that the character of JOSEPH, great grand-son to Patriarch Abraham, is one of the most amiable, most upright, and instructive. He is there represented in every vicissitude of fortune, acquiring in every station by his wisdom and virtue favour with God and man (u). His virtue suffers no diminution whatever, but shines with greater lustre, in passing from the condition of a slave to that of Governor of all Egypt. His fidelity to God, and to his Master

(†) Gen. c. 25, v. 16.

(u) Gen. 39, 2--6. Ibid. 21--23. Ibid. c. 41, v. 37, &c.

Master Potiphar, is assailed by strong temptations, which, in spite of youth and interest, he resists with the most exemplary fortitude (*w*). Thrown into the horrors of a dungeon through the artifice of a false woman, whose honour he preserves at the expence of his own, his integrity and prudence soon render him conspicuous even in that dark recess (*x*). Favoured with the divine spirit of prophecy, and called in his Prophetic Character into the presence of Pharaoh, the wise and extensive plan he forms to save the Kingdom from the miseries of impending famine, raises him to that height, where his abilities and virtues are eminently displayed in the public service, and answer the purposes of the Providence of God in favour of his chosen People (*y*). Enabled by despotic power to retain his unnatural brethren in that Egyptian bondage, to which they had once consigned him, and gratify revenge by every accumulation of disgrace, he not only generously forgives them the outrageous treatment he had received, but he even effaces the very remembrance of those injuries which had produced his adversity : and, without recriminating his adversaries, without retaliating their injuries, he extenuates in some measure the guilt of a crime, which, by the interposition of Providence, had proved subservient to a happy issue (*z*).

XVII. EVERY feature of this most amiable character is so perfectly finished, so exactly conformable to the model of the strictest virtue, that the whole Piece is one of the completest portraits of righteousness and humanity, that has ever been exhibited to the World

(*w*) Gen. 39. 7--12. (*x*) Gen. 39. 21--23. Gen. 40. v. 1, &c.

(*y*) Gen. 40. 8--23. Ibid. c. 41. 1, &c. Ibid. c. 45, 4, &c. Ps. 105. 16--24.

(*z*) Gen. c. 37. 23--28. Ibid. 45. 1--11.

World in any stage of Religion. Christianity itself can produce but few exemplars, that will contend with him for superiority; especially, when it is considered, that Joseph's innocence and virtue, from his youth to his decrepit old age, retained, in the very heart of infidelity itself, the same uniform lustre and firmness, though beset at different periods by such strong temptations to infidelity and vice, as are the inseparable attendants of extreme adversity and prosperity. In a word: every step of Joseph's conduct in every stage of his life met the approbation of God, and was especially directed by his protecting hand; for, in the language of the inspired Writer, *The Lord was with him: and that which he did, the Lord made it to prosper.* (a)

XVIII. Now, if we examine the history of this eminent Personage, as described in the Sacred Records, we shall soon find a second very remarkable instance of the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, as practised, not only without control, but under the visible protection of God, by one of the strictest professors of the Religion of Nature, the laws and principles of which were the invariable rule of his conduct: a man in high favour with the Almighty, the framer of those very principles and laws; and who, in the inscrutable order of his fatherly Providence, chose him the instrument and promoter of his glory (b), imparted him the divine spirit of his wisdom (c), led him, as it were, by the hand, in every step of his life (d), and prospered whatever he undertook (e). An instance, attended with circumstances of that singular nature and tendency, as seems not only to fix the subject of the present Controversy.

(a) Gen. 39. 23. (b) Ps. 105. 16--24. (c) Gen. c. 40. 43.

(d) Gen. 39. 21--23. (e) Gen. 39. 23.

Controversy in the best point of view, but to ascertain, beyond the power of reply, the inherent lawfulness of the SLAVE-TRADE.

XIX. THE fact, with all its attending circumstances, is thus described in the XLVIIth Chapter of the Book of GENESIS,

13. And there was no bread in all the land ; for the famine was very sore : so that the land of Egypt, and the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine.
14. And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they brought ; and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house.
15. And when the money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said : give us bread ; for why should we die in thy presence ? for the money faileth.
16. And Joseph said : give your cattle ; and I will give you for your cattle, if money fail.
17. And they brought their cattle unto Joseph : and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses ; and he fed them with bread for all their cattle, for that year.
18. When that year was ended, they came unto him the second year, and said unto him : we will not hide it from my Lord, how that our money is spent ; my Lord also hath our herds of cattle ; there is not aught left in the sight of my Lord, but our bodies and our lands.

19. Where-

19. Wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land ? Buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh : and give us seed : that we may live and not die, that the land be not desolate.
20. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh : for the Egyptians sold every man his field ; because the famine prevailed over them : so the land became Pharaoh's.
21. And as for the people, he removed them to cities, from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof.
22. Only the land of the Priests bought he not ; for the Priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them ; wherefore they sold not their lands.
23. Then Joseph said unto the people : behold, I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh : lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land.
24. And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones.
25. And they said ; thou hast saved our lives : let us find grace in the sight of my Lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants.
26. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part ; except the land of the Priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.

XX. THE transactions related in this portion of Joseph's history, afford us a considerable number of very pertinent reflections on the SLAVE-TRADE; the following appear to me very remarkable.

1. Here is a whole nation of free and independent Africans, one only description of men excepted, inhabiting the richest, the most populous, and the most civilized part of Africa, or perhaps, of any other part of the Globe at that period, all made SLAVES in one day by a most explicit, deliberate, and formal contract.

2. Allowing, the Kingdom of Egypt at that time to have extended no farther than it does at present: that is, 600 miles from North to South, and 250 from East to West, it must have contained, on the most moderate computation, as many inhabitants, at least, as the Kingdom of Great Britain does at this present time; Egypt was then the Emporium of the whole world, where all arts and sciences, commerce, agriculture, and polity flourished in a degree of refinement, superior, perhaps, to that of any part of Europe in our days. Accordingly the number of Africans purchased by Joseph in one day, at the very moderate price of one year's maintenance per head, including their land, amounted, at least, to seven or eight millions of persons: a number not unequal, perhaps, to all the purchases of the kind ever made by English Merchants since the commencement of the GUINEA-TRADE.

3. The happy condition of these Africans, prior to Joseph's purchase, is a circumstance worth observing: it differed in every respect from that of most of their present countrymen purchased by our European merchants. The latter are generally
Slaves,

Slaves, or Captives, in their native land; the former were all free and independent subjects: those, when purchased by our African Merchants, are in a state of absolute indigence and poverty; whereas the latter were all people of property, and, indeed, of landed property; for it is very particularly specified in the scriptural account, that *the Egyptians sold every man his field*; that is, his landed estate.

4. The circumstance of transporting Slaves from their native soil into a distant Country, is also very obvious in the conduct of Joseph, subsequent to the purchase he had made; for, *as for the people, says the Scripture, he removed them to cities, from one end of the borders of Egypt, even unto the other end thereof*: by which expedient he deprived them of every prospect of ever re-enjoying their respective paternal Estates, and the places of their nativity. And is it not more than probable, that, in the execution of so extensive a plan, as removing so many millions of inhabitants of every age, sex, condition, and rank, infants at the breast, young children, old and decrepit people, infirm and delicate, from one end of the borders of so extensive a Country as Egypt, even unto the other end thereof, many must have inevitably perished in passing through the scorching sands of a Country desolate with famine, and parched up, as it were, by an uninterrupted drought of six consecutive years, whatever wise regulations we may naturally suppose were made by Joseph to accommodate such an extraordinary number of Slaves?

5. This numerous multitude of free and independent Africans, become now by contract menial Slaves to Pharaoh, are immediately sent by Joseph

to cultivate their Master's Estates throughout all Egypt, for *the land became Pharaoh's*: so, that we may consider them, with the utmost propriety, as so many Slaves, transported from their native place, and sent by their Master, or his Steward or Overseer, to work in his different Plantations, merely for their keep; for all the land was the property of Pharaoh, and the portion of the yearly produce of it, which they were allowed, is said to have been given them *only for seed of the field, for their food, those of their households, and their little ones,*

6. The last and most interesting circumstance, in my opinion, attending this singular transaction, is the manner in which Joseph proceeded to effect his purchase. For, in consequence of that prophetic spirit, with which the Almighty had especially favoured him, and by which he foresaw the wonderful fertility of the land for seven years to come, and the extreme sterility of it for as many years after, he engrossed all the corn that grew in Egypt during the first seven years of plenty, and laid it up against the time of impending famine (*f*). When this began to rage in the land, he opened his stores, and made the Egyptians pay ready money for their corn: being entirely drained of cash, for *Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt*, he refused to supply them with bread, unless they gave all their cattle in exchange; which, accordingly, they did, for such proportion of corn as would keep them one year: being now reduced to the last extremity, and entirely destitute of provisions, as well as of every means of procuring them, save their lands and persons, he availed him-
self

self of this favourable opportunity to effect a purchase, for which he had gradually paved the way: a bargain was accordingly concluded between him and Pharaoh's subjects, by which he bought all their lands and persons for as much corn, as would keep the latter the space of one year; which, from the circumstance of giving them seed, wherewith to sow the land, appears to have been the last of that septennial dearth. So that, even taking advantage of the extreme indigence of his fellow-creatures, when able to relieve them, in order to reduce them to the condition of Slaves, was not deemed by this righteous, and inspired Man, *with whom the Lord was*, an infraction of those sacred laws of Nature, which were the invariable rule of his conduct.

XXI. How far Joseph's conduct in every stage of this remarkable transaction, so favourable to the SLAVE-TRADE, may appear equitable or otherwise to the present humane advocates for African Liberty, through the feeble light of mere human reason and sense, I know not: this however is most certain, that there is not so much as one JOT in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God, that seems to disapprove in the most distant manner any one part of his conduct, either in this or in any other transaction of his long and holy life (*g*). On the contrary, in every place of Scripture, where this eminent Personage is introduced, whether before or after this transaction, he is constantly represented as one of the most faithful and acceptable servants of God, under whose particular protection he lived and thrived (*b*); by whose immediate direction he acted

(*g*) Gen. 50. 26.

(*b*) Gen. 39. 21, 23.

acted (*i*); and who did nothing whatever, but the Almighty *made it to prosper* (*k*). The very transaction we are speaking of, when rehearsed by one of the inspired Writers (*l*), a Man according to God's own heart (*m*), is so far from being taxed with the least intimation of guilt in any one circumstance attending it, that the whole process, without any exceptions whatever, is there represented as the effect of that divine Wisdom, with which he was inspired from above.

XXII, A FURTHER scriptural evidence, that the conduct of Joseph, in purchasing so many millions of his fellow-creatures, and reducing them to the condition of Slaves, met the entire approbation of God, and was therefore perfectly consonant to the sacred laws of Nature, is that remarkable declaration of the Word of God, registered in the First Book of CHRONICLES, c. 5. v. 1—3, which assigns the true reason for transferring the right of Primogeniture, or First-born, from the Family of Reuben, eldest son of Jacob, to the Family of Joseph; which, as it is expressly mentioned in that place, was Reuben's incestuous conversation with Bilhah, his Father's concubine (*n*).—But is it credible, consistently with the essential justice of God, that he should deprive Reuben's children of their Father's Primogeniture or birth-right, for having once transgressed one of the Laws of Nature, and yet should at the same time, even in preference to Judah the Messiah's progenitor, give it to those of Joseph, who, by the very act of enslaving so many millions of his fellow-creatures, and using them as he did, must

(*i*) Gen. *ibid.* and cc. 40, 41. (*k*) Gen. 39. 23. (*l*) Ps. 105. v. 16--24.

(*m*) 1. Kings, c. 15. 3. (*n*) Gen. 35. 22.

must have necessarily incurred the horrid guilt of reiterated transgressions of several of those sacred Laws, if, what is so confidently asserted be true, that the SLAVE-TRADE, or the purchasing of Slaves, is an iniquitous unnatural pursuit, and a crime of the blackest die in direct opposition to every principle of Nature? How could any one in such chimerical supposition reconcile the visible partiality of God's conduct, with his own Scriptural declarations of the eternal and immutable rectitude of his justice?

XXIII. ONE evidence more, drawn from the same scriptural source of conviction, will, I hope, be sufficient to evince the irreproachableness of Joseph's conduct in the transaction now before us. Every body knows, who knows any thing of Scripture, that the speeches made to their Children by the holy Patriarchs of old, prior to their departure from this world, called in the language of Scripture *Blessing the Children* (o), were so many prophetic declarations of the Word of God, predicting to them the future events that should distinguish them and their families, and entailing upon them and their posterity that portion of happiness or misery, to which their moral or immoral conduct entitled them. This being an undoubted truth, let us now examine with an attentive eye some of the most material circumstances of that solemn Blessing, which Jacob bestowed on Joseph and his Brethren a little before his death (p)

1. This blessing was bestowed on Joseph and his Brethren about ten years after Joseph had enslaved all

(o) Gen. 27. v. 4, 7, 10, 12, 19, &c.

(p) Gen. 49. v. 1, &c.

all the inhabitants of Egypt, excepting those of the Sacerdotal Order (*q*).

2. Jacob in this Blessing reproaches Reuben, his eldest son, with the infamy of his incestuous crime in the strongest terms; and declares, that, in punishment of it, *he should not excel*, but should be as *unstable as water*.

3. Simeon and Levi are branded by the holy Patriarch with being *Instruments of cruelty*; he abhors their counsels; calls their company dishonourable; curses the fierceness of their anger, and the cruelty of their wrath, *because in their anger*, says he, *they slew a man*; meaning Shechem the Hivite and his father Hamor, together with all his male subjects, whom *they slew with the sword* (*r*); and, as a punishment of their barbarous cruelty, he declares they should be divided and scattered in the land of Promise.

4. When the Holy Patriarch comes to bless his son Joseph, he expresses himself in the following emphatic and divine strain. “ Joseph is a fruitful
“ bough by a well, whose branches run over the
“ wall. The archers have sorely grieved him, and
“ shot at him, and hated him: but his bow abode
“ in strength, and the arms of his hands were made
“ strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob:
“ from thence is the Shepherd, the stone of Israel;
“ even by the God of thy father, who shall help
“ thee, and by the Almighty, who shall bless thee
“ with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the
“ deep that lieth under, blessings of the breast,
“ and of the womb. The blessings of thy father
“ have prevailed above the blessings of my pro-
“ genitors:

“ genitors : unto the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills, they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him, that was “ separate from his brethren”(s).

IN these prophetic and beautiful expressions, exhibiting in the most pleasing colours the personal character of Joseph, and the blessings entailed on his posterity, literally fulfilled afterwards, we can perceive nothing but what necessarily supposes in Joseph the greatest innocence of heart, the most unimpeachable rectitude of conduct, and the most gracious acceptance with his Creator. No part of his conduct is here branded with disgrace, with the least appearance of the smallest guilt, or with the most distant intimation of reproof.

BUT, were the SLAVE-TRADE as criminal in its nature as it is pretended, were it a pursuit hateful in the sight of God, and an atrocious encroachment on the sacred rights of justice and humanity, would Jacob, or, rather would God, who spoke by his mouth, have overlooked the atrocity of a crime big with such an accumulation of guilt? Would he have engaged his word to be his help and protection, and to bestow such a plentitude of blessings on the crown of his head, not long after he had concluded that Slave-contract we are speaking of, and at the very time he was keeping in bondage so many millions of his fellow-creatures? Would God, I say, or could God, without a most glaring opposition to the essential rights of his own justice, have acted thus in the case of Joseph, and at the same time rebuke his brethren Reuben, Simeon, and Levi in the severest terms, and inflict a lasting punishment on them and their posterity

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(though the former had only one accusation against him, and the two latter pleaded in justification of their violent proceedings the revenge due to their sister Dinah, and the honour of their father's house (*t*)), had not Joseph's recent conduct in reducing so many millions of free Africans to the abject condition of Slaves, as well as every other transaction of his life, been perfectly agreeable to the invariable tenour of those sacred Laws, of which he alone was the Author and Judge?

To every one of these questions there is but one direct answer; which, as it must necessarily be in the negative, must of consequence evince to the meanest capacity, that the SLAVE-TRADE has the indisputable sanction of God in its support.

XXIV, I WILL not conceal, or even disguise, in favour of the cause I have espoused, what, I apprehend, will be objected to the argument I have just enforced, from the Scriptural account of Joseph's extensive purchase of African Slaves.—It will be objected, I presume, that Joseph's purchase was not a forcible purchase; that the Egyptians, whom he bought, offered themselves of their own accord, and desired he would buy them at a certain price (*v*); and that, of course, the free and voluntary cession they made of their liberties and persons justified Joseph's conduct, and rendered his contract just and valid, without injuring the natural rights of justice and humanity; which being far otherwise in the usual practice of the SLAVE-TRADE, in which persons are sold and bought without their consent, the inferences drawn in vindication of that Trade from the practice of Joseph, can have no weight of conviction

(*t*) Gen. 34. v. 7, 30, 31.

(*v*) Gen. 47. v. 19.

viction in support of the SLAVE-TRADE.—No one, I trust, will tax me with partiality to my Cause, from the statement of this argument against myself: I have given it, I think, all the weight it is able to carry: how much it will weigh in the scale of sound and unprejudiced reason, will soon appear from the following considerations.

XXV. 1. I CAN by no means allow, that Joseph's purchase of Pharaoh's subjects was not a forcible purchase in fact, and in strictness of language. It is true, the Egyptians themselves, without any apparent explicit proposal on the part of Joseph, desired him to buy them for bread: but did they ever think of making that offer, whilst they had any bread to eat, or any means left for buying or procuring it? Did not Joseph himself, prior to that offer, pave, as it were, the way to it, by engrossing all the corn in the land of Egypt, and by selling it to them for money and cattle, till they had neither money nor cattle to give in exchange?—Let us hear how they address themselves to him: their petition will best explain, how far their offer may be called voluntary on their part. “ They came unto
 “ him the second year, *says the sacred Writer*, and
 “ said unto him: We will not hide it from my
 “ Lord, how that our money is spent; my Lord
 “ also hath our herds of cattle: there is not aught
 “ left in the sight of my Lord, but our bodies and
 “ our lands. *Wherefore shall we die* before thine
 “ eyes, both we and our land? Buy us and our
 “ land for bread, and we and our land will be ser-
 “ vants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, that *we*
 “ *may live and not die*, that the land be not de-
 “ solate.”

Is this the language of persons, who freely, voluntarily, of their own accord, and without any compulsion whatever, offer themselves to sale? Is it not evident from the very words of their own address, that finding themselves reduced to the last extremity of indigence, and seeing nothing before their eyes but inevitable death or slavery, they were forced, through dread of the former, to submit to the latter? And can there be a more forcible contract, than that which is made only through fear of death, only to avoid inevitable death?—The cession then made by the Egyptians of their liberties and persons, was neither in fact, nor in strictness of language, nor, indeed, in conformity with the Scriptural account of the circumstances attending it, a free and volutary cession. Had not therefore Joseph had better grounds in the principles of his Natural Religion, of which he was a most strict observer, to assure himself of the justice of his contract, the cession of the Egyptians, forcible in the strictest propriety of the word, would never have rendered his Contract just and valid in the sight of God.

2. But even granting, for a moment, that the Egyptians did really make a free and voluntary cession of their liberties and persons; I do not see, upon what principle of reason their cession could justify Joseph's conduct, and make his purchase lawful, if, as it is so confidently asserted, the SLAVE-TRADE be essentially unjust and illicit in its own nature. For, if to purchase those of our own species be highly criminal in itself, be an unjust invasion on the rights of justice and humanity, and directly opposite to the Sacred Laws of Nature, how is it possible to conceive, that any cession whatever of the party to
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be purchased should make that just and lawful in the sight of God, which by his unalterable eternal laws is essentially the very reverse? Can human agreements dispense in the laws of God? Whatever is essentially unjust and illicit to purchase; must be essentially unjust and illicit to sell.---The objection then grounded on the pretended voluntary cession of the Egyptians, however plausible it may appear at first, is utterly inconclusive and ill founded.

XXVI. I COULD easily produce a greater number of distinguished Characters within this period of the Law of Nature, whose uniform manner of acting, with reference to the present subject, would afford me an additional number of arguments in vindication of the SLAVE-TRADE. But as the Sacred Book, where those great patterns of every religious and social virtue are exhibited, is in every body's hands, and, as I have sufficiently demonstrated, I think, from the Scriptural account of two of the most eminent Characters within the same period, that the SLAVE-TRADE has the indisputable sanction of Divine Authority, and is in exact conformity with the principles of the Law of Nature, as delineated in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God, I shall now proceed to demonstrate in the subsequent Section, that it is equally conformable to the principles of the Mosaic Law.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Scriptural Researches on the licitness of the Slave-Trade, shewing its conformity with the principles of the Mosaic Law delineated in the Sacred Writings

I. **T**HE Mosaic Law, called also the Written Law, and the Mosaic Dispensation, succeeded the Dispensation of the Law of Nature : not, as if, by the publication of the former (*a*), the latter had been totally abrogated, or suffered the least relaxation in any of its laws, which are of perpetual obligation ; but because the Almighty willing to establish a Covenant with his Chosen People, the Children of Israel, added to the former obligations such other statutes, Laws, and ceremonies, as were to distinguish them from every other Nation in the World. This Law is very frequently called, even in Scripture, the Law of Moses (*b*), and Moses is said to have been the Law-giver or the Legislator of the Children of Israel ; not because it was framed by him, but because the Almighty delivered it to them through his Ministry, and he committed it to writing. How long this Law was in force from the first promulgation of it, has been the subject of much inquiry among the Learned : but, without entering now into a critical discussion of this controverted point, we may safely venture to fix that period, without either advantage or prejudice to the Subject

(*a*) Exod. c. 20, &c. (*b*) Josh. c. 8. v. 31, 32. Ibid. 23. 6. I. Kings, 2, 3. II. Kings, 23, 25.

Subject of our Researches, to the time of the Apostle's Council held at Jerusalem, in which the Law of Circumcision and other Legal observances were, by an express Decree of that Council, declared unnecessary to Salvation, and consequently of no further obligation (c). This Council, according to the computation of Archbishop Usher, was held in the Year of the World 4055; and as the Law was promulged in the Year 2513, according to the chronological computation of the same Author; it follows, that the Law of Moses, or the Mosaic Dispensation, continued in force 1542 Years.

II. Now, before I proceed to shew, that the Laws and principles of this second Divine Dispensation of Religion, not only never prohibited the SLAVE-TRADE, but gave, on the contrary, a positive sanction to the prosecution of it; I judge necessary to apprise the Reader, that the arguments I mean to enforce in favour of the SLAVE-TRADE, as confined to this second period of true Religion, shall be entirely grounded on such written laws and principles of internal moral rectitude, as constituted the true morality of that Religion; and not on such Legal observances and practices, as were peculiar to it, and constituted only the ritual, typical, or ceremonial part of its frame. The following decisive instances of the former sort, will, without producing others, be sufficient, I hope, to establish my assertion beyond the power of reply.

EXODUS.

(c) Acts, 15. 1, &c.

E X O D U S.

III. It is singular enough, that the very first Law, or *Judgement*, in the Scripture language, enacted by God himself immediately after he had delivered the Ten Commandments to his People, should be respecting the SLAVE-TRADE; and that also, with the additional circumstance of not restraining them from purchasing their own brethren, their own flesh and blood !

“ These are the judgements, *says God to Moses*,
 “ which thou shalt set before them. If thou buy
 “ an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve, and
 “ in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.
 “ If he came in by himself, he shall go out by him-
 “ self; if he were married, then his wife shall go
 “ out with him. If his Master have given him a
 “ wife, and she have borne him sons and daugh-
 “ ters; the wife and her children shall be her
 “ Master’s, and he shall go out by himself.”(d)

IV. HERE, it is evident in the first place, that, however limited the time was of the Slavery of an Hebrew, he was yet in the strictest sense of the word a true and real Slave for the time; for he was his Master’s property, bought for a certain price; and his Master, on this account, had an undoubted right and power to sell him again to another person before the expiration of that time. But, were the SLAVE-TRADE, or the purchasing of those of our own species, and dealing in human flesh, a pursuit of that heinous and crying nature, as to be essentially
 unlawful,

unlawful, essentially incompatible with the principles of reason, nature, and true Religion, would God, Justice and Sanctity itself, have authorized the practice of it with so positive, so manifest, so explicit a sanction, I do not say for the space of six years, but even for a single moment, at the very time he was making his Holy Covenant with his chosen people, and teaching them the very principles of true Religion?

Again: the Hebrew, thus bought by his Brother, and reduced to the condition of a Slave, under the express sanction of God, was a Child of the Circumcision: now, Circumcision, under the Mosaic Dispensation, was a solemn, religious Rite answering that of Baptism in the Christian Law: it was a token of the Covenant between God and his People (*e*), as essentially requisite in every male person, who hoped for acceptance with God (*f*), as is Baptism in the Covenant of the New Law. If then, notwithstanding the prerogative of Circumcision, which made the professors of the Mosaic Law true Children of God, true believers, and Members of his Church, a free circumcised Israelite was still subject to the law of human bondage or slavery, and that even under the dominion of one of his own Communion and Church; from what maxim or principle of true Religion and justice does it follow, that a Slave, once admitted into the Covenant of the New Law, acquires by his admission a right to his emancipation from human bondage, that is, a right to deprive his Master of his property?

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(*e*) Gen. c. 17. v. 11.(*f*) Gen. 17. 14.

In fine; it is manifest from the very letter of the law just quoted, that, even in the Case of an Hebrew reduced to the condition of a Slave for a limited time, the Master's purchase of that Slave was so essentially just and lawful in every part of it, that, though by an especial ordinance of God, peculiar to that people only, the Slave was to be released from bondage in the seventh year, or the year of the Jubilee; yet the right of property, acquired by that purchase, was declared by God to be so vested in the Master, that, if the Master had given a wife to his Slave, that is, if the Slave had married a wife during the time of his servitude with the consent of his Master, both she and her children, if he had any by her, became the Master's property for ever: in which Case, it is worth observing, that the Slave thus emancipated, though a Member of the true Church, was ordered to *go out by himself*, and leave his wife and children behind.—A separation this between husband and wife, father and children, well deserving the particular attention of every religious and humane advocate for African Liberty!—And can any one after this entertain the most distant doubt on the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, so positively, so unequivocally, so strongly authorized by this written ordinance of the Word of God?

L E V I T I C U S.

V. THE farther I proceed in my Scriptural Researches, the stronger the evidences appear to me
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in favour of the SLAVE-TRADE. Indeed, I have every encouragement given me in this Sacred Book of LEVITICUS to advance a step farther, and maintain, that the SLAVE-TRADE has not only the sanction of Divine Authority in its support, but was also positively encouraged (I had almost said, *commanded*) by that Authority, under the Dispensation of the Mosaic Law. The following plain and explicit words of one of the Laws respecting that Trade, and registered in this Book, can admit of no other construction.

“ Both thy bond-men and bond-maids, *says the Supreme Law-giver*, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the Children of the Strangers that do so sojourn among you; of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond-men for ever.”(g).

VI. If there be meaning in language, or sense in words, here is certainly a Law enacted by Divine Authority, which does not only give a most positive and unexceptionable sanction to the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, but seems farther to lay, as it were, an injunction on the Children of Israel to prosecute that Traffic under no other restriction whatever, but that of confining their purchases of perpetual Slaves

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(g) Leviticus, c. 25. v. 44--46.

to the heathen round about them, and the Strangers that sojourned among them ; for the words of the Law-giver evidently imply more than a mere permission or leave : He does not say, speaking of the Heathen or Sojourners, *Of them MAY ye buy bond-men and bond-maids*, but, *Of them SHALL ye buy bond-men and bond-maids*.

Again : the words of this Law, and they are the words of God, do expressly declare, that Slaves thus purchased from the Heathen and Sojourners among them, shall be the *Possession*, that is, the real and lawful property of the purchasers : a property so strictly their own, that they shall bequeath it to their Children at their death, as a part of their just and lawful inheritance, a part of their paternal estate, an estate for ever, for *they shall be your bond-men for ever*, says the Law : that is, an hereditary estate with all the emoluments arising from it ; and, consequently, with all the children born from them, agreeably to the tenour of that Law of EXODUS, which has been explained in the IVth Number of this SECTION ; for otherwise the children of a Heathen Slave or a Stranger would have enjoyed a privilege, which an Hebrew Slave was denied, though a Slave only for a limited time.

VII. FROM this most decisive, most explicit, and irrefragable authority of the Written Word of God, visibly encouraging the prosecution of the SLAVE-TRADE, and declaring in the most categorical language that words can devise, that a Slave is the real, indisputable and lawful property of the purchaser and his heirs for ever, it necessarily follows by force of consequence, that either the SLAVE-TRADE must be in its own intrinsic nature a just and

an honest Trade, and by no means deserving those harsh epithets and names with which it is so frequently branded and degraded; or, that, if it does still deserve those odious names and epithets in consequence of its intrinsic turpitude and immorality, the Almighty did so far forget himself, when he made the above Law, as to patronize a manifest injustice, encourage a most criminal violation of his other laws, and give his sacred sanction to what humanity itself must for ever abhor and detest.—As there can be no medium between these two unavoidable inferences, and the latter is one of the most daring blasphemies that the human heart can conceive, I leave the religious Reader to judge for himself, which side of the Question is the safest to embrace.

J O S H U A.

VIII. THE prudent and well-concerted stratagem of the inhabitants of Gibeon, with all the circumstances attending its final issue, so minutely described in the IXth Chapter of this Sacred Book, will, when viewed in its proper light, add no small weight of authority to the justice of the SLAVE-TRADE. The Scriptural account of this entertaining transaction, long as it may appear to some, cannot well be contracted, without injuring its beautiful texture: the following is a literal transcript of it.

v. 3. And when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto Jericho, and to Ai,

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4. They did work wilily, and went and made as if they had been Ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine-bottles, old, and rent, and bound up :
5. And old shoes, and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them : and all the bread of their provision was dry and mouldy.
6. And they went to Joshua, unto the camp of Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel : we be come from a far country, now therefore make ye a league with us.
7. And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites : peradventure ye dwell among us, and how shall we make a league with you ?
8. And they said unto Joshua : we are thy servants. And Joshua said unto them : who are ye ? and from whence come ye ?
9. And they said unto him : from a very far country thy servants are come, because of the name of the Lord thy God ; for we have heard of the fame of him, and all that he did in Egypt.
10. And all that he did to the two Kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon King of Heshbon, and to Og King of Bashan, which was at Ashtarothe.
11. Wherefore our Elders and all the Inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying : take victuals with you for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them : we are your servants : therefore now make ye a league with us.

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12. This our bread we took hot for our provision out of our houses, on the day we came forth unto you : but now behold, it is dry, and it is mouldy.
13. And these bottles of wine which were filled, were new ; and behold. they be rent ; and these our garments and our shoes are become old, by reason of the very long journey.
14. And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord.
15. And Joshua made peace with them, and made a league with them, to let them live ; and the Princes of the Congregation sware unto them.
16. And it came to pass at the end of three days, after they had made a league with them, that they heard that they were neighbours, and that they dwelt among them.
17. And the children of Israel sojourned, and came into their Cities on the third day : now their Cities were Gibeon, and Chéphirah, and Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim,
18. And the Children of Israel smote them not, because the Princes of the Congregation had sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel : and all the Congregation murmured against the Princes.
19. But all the Princes said unto the Congregation: We have sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel : now therefore we may not touch them.
20. This we will do them ; we will even let them live, lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath which we sware unto them,

21. And

21. And the Princes said unto them : let them live (but let them be hewers of wood, and drawers of water unto all the Congregation), as the Princes had promised them.
22. And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying: wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you? when ye dwell among us.
23. Now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bond-men, and hewers of wood, and drawers of water for the house of my God.
24. And they answered Joshua, and said : because it was certainly told thy servants, how that the Lord thy God commanded his servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you, therefore we were fore afraid of our lives, because of you, and have done this thing.
25. And now, behold, we are in thine hand : as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto us, do.
26. And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the Children of Israel, and they slew them not.
27. And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood, and drawers of water for the Congregation, and for the Altar of the Lord, even unto this day, in the place which he should chuse.

IX. THE following observations seem to arise spontaneously from the circumstances related in this interesting portion of Scripture.

1. The

1. The Gibeonites were in the number of those inhabitants of the Land of Canaan, who, by the express command of God, were to be utterly proscribed, and driven out of the Land, by the Children of Israel: *Thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor with their Gods*, said the Almighty to his People; *they shall not dwell in thy land (b)*.

2. To ward this impending doom, of which they were well apprized, as appears from their reply to Joshua, they had recourse to a stratagem, which, for want of Joshua consulting the divine Oracle, succeeded to the utmost of their wishes; for they made a league, and a treaty of peace and amity with Joshua and his People; and by virtue of this National Treaty, which was confirmed to them with the solemn sanction of an oath, and never annulled, but rather ratified in the sequel by God himself, they were exempted from the general doom, and became in every sense of the word free allies and friends to the Children of Israel.—Indeed, the sentiments of Religion and humility, so visible both in their first address and their reply to Joshua's charge, and their not joining in the general league with the neighbouring Kings, who all combined *with one accord* to fight against Israel (i), speak a sense of repentance, which might have induced the Almighty to reverse his sentence, and suffer their stratagem to succeed.

3. As soon as this was discovered, we find that the Gibeonites were all consigned by Joshua to perpetual Slavery, *unto this day*; that is, with all their posterity; notwithstanding the sentence of proscription,

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tion,

(b) Exod. c. 23. v. 31--33.

(i) Josh. c. 9. v. 1, 2.

tion, the only one that the Almighty had pronounced against them, and was to be executed by Joshua, had been entirely reversed; notwithstanding they had every claim, by virtue of the recent Treaty they had so solemnly concluded with him and his People, to all the privileges and franchises of free Allies.

X. To say, that the sentence of death, pronounced against the Gibeonites in several places of Scripture (*k*), was afterwards changed by the Almighty into that of perpetual and hereditary bondage or slavery, is to advance what is never to be found in any part of the Sacred Records; from the whole tenour of which it appears manifest, that the perpetual bondage, to which they were consigned with all their posterity, was the sole act and deed of Joshua, suggested apparently by the Princes of the Congregation of Israel, who, prior to Joshua's curse upon them, in order to silence the murmurs of the multitude, had declared their intention of employing the Gibeonites in the servile occupations of *hewers of wood, and drawers of water unto all the Congregation*.

Now, had Joshua's sentence of perpetual bondage been only a commutation of that of death, to which the Almighty had condemned the Gibeonites, had it not been lawful in itself, on other accounts, to reduce the innocent as well as the guilty to the condition of Slaves; the sentence of perpetual bondage pronounced by Joshua, ought, one would imagine, to have extended no farther, than the persons of the Gibeonites then living, any more than did the sentence

(*k*) Exod. 23. 31--33. Deut. 7. 2, &c.

tence of death, in lieu of which that of perpetual bondage is said to have been substituted. The slavery then of their innocent posterity, at least, cannot be said to have been in lieu of death, to which certainly they had never been condemned.

It being therefore evident from the uniform tenour of the Sacred Writings, that neither the reduction of the Gibeonites then living, nor that of their guiltless descendants yet unborn, to perpetual Slavery, was ever condemned by any mark or intimation whatever of God's displeasure, but manifestly ratified in the sequel by several undoubted assurances of his divine approbation; it is easy to conclude, whether the reducing of the innocent as well as the guilty part of our fellow-creatures to the condition of Slaves, or even to hereditary bondage or Slavery, be in its own nature licit or illicit, criminal or just.

XI. As a mark of the Almighty's undoubted approbation of Joshua's conduct in the transaction just before us, we find in the continuation of this history (1), that He even secured to his People the possession of those Slaves, and their posterity, by a most signal victory, which he enabled them to obtain over five Kings of the Amorites; who, in consequence of the Gibeonites having made a league and a treaty of peace with Joshua and his People, joined all their forces against them, and made a vigorous attempt to invade this new acquisition of the Children of Israel. The exertions of his divine power for securing to his People this new-acquired property of Slaves were so wonderfully great, that he even fought *in Person* against the invaders; for, "The Lord,

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" says

“ *says the sacred Writer*, discomfitted them before
 “ Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at
 “ Gibeon, and chased them along the way that
 “ goeth up to Bethhoron, and smote them to Aze-
 “ kah, and unto Makkedah. And it came to pass,
 “ as they fled from before Israel, and were in the
 “ going down to Bethhoron, that the Lord cast
 “ down great stones from heaven upon them unto
 “ Azekah, and they died : they were more which
 “ died with hailstones, than they whom the Children
 “ of Israel slew with the sword.”(m)

And, in order to render the victory still more complete, and the part he took in defending the rights of his People over the Gibeonites more visible to the whole world, he even wrought a miracle of the most singular kind ; for, *barkning*, as the Sacred Page expresses it *unto the voice of a Man*, that is, of Joshua, who, in the heat of action, ordered *the Sun to stand still upon Gibeon, and the Moon in the valley of Ajalon*, he stayed them both *about a whole day, until the People had avenged themselves upon their enemies* (n), for attempting to destroy the inhabitants of Gibeon their bond-slaves.

XII. IF these wonderful atchievements of the power of God in favour of his chosen People in the very case of protecting the persons whom they had so lately reduced to perpetual and hereditary bondage, are not to be considered as so many evident testimonies of his divine approbation of the immediate object of the SLAVE-TRADE, and a positive sanction to the licitness of it, but are still consistent with any intrinsic moral turpitude inherent to the nature

(m) Josh. c. 10. v. 10, 11.

(n) Josh. 10. v. 12, 14.

nature of that Trade; the abettors of this opinion must necessarily maintain, that the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in direct opposition to his own essential attributes and perfections, in manifest contradiction with his own moral laws and commandments, and in vindication of ill-gotten property, displayed to the World the most extraordinary exertions of his Omnipotence, and disturbed the very course of Nature to make it subservient to the vilest of purposes, injustice and oppression.—As the inference is as blasphemous as it is necessary, the very mentioning of it will, I flatter myself, be sufficient to determine the judgement of any religious and candid Reader in favour of the inherent moral licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE.

XIII. I HAVE, I think, sufficiently proved from the Scriptural Passages I have produced in the series of this SECOND PART, that the SLAVE-TRADE has the positive sanction of Divine Authority in its support, and is perfectly consonant to the principles of the Mosaic Dispensation delineated in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God.

I have, however, this one thing to observe before I proceed to the THIRD PART, in order to preclude every avenue to groundless objections; that there is not a Place in all the Writings of the Word of God, whether of the OLD or of the NEW TESTAMENT, that does so much as insinuate in the most distant manner, that the Slaves bought either within the period of the Law of Nature, that of the Mosaic Dispensation, or that of the Christian Law, were to serve during a certain number of years and no longer, except the Hebrew Slaves; who, for reasons peculiar only to that People, and not applicable even to Christian

Christian Slaves, were to serve no longer than six years in the capacity of Bond-Slaves. In every other case, the words BOND-MAN, BOND-WOMAN, BOND-MAID, BOND-SERVANT, SERVANT UNDER THE YOKE, imply, in the Scripture language, perpetual and unlimited bondage, bondage for life, both of the male and female reduced to that condition, and even of their posterity or children, if they had any. Nor is there one instance to be met with in the Sacred Volumes, of the manumission or emancipation of a Slave of either sex, except of the Hebrew race, who ever obtained release from bondage, on account of having served any determinate number of years.

The dismissal of Hagar, bond-woman to Abraham, from her Master's house, is so far from being an instance of this kind, that every circumstance attending her discharge, seems to prove the very reverse (*o*). She was *sent away* by Abraham, at the earnest solicitation of his wife Sarah, whose counsel the Almighty ordered him to follow: but the reluctance he shewed to turn her out of his house, when it was first proposed to him by Sarah, for *the thing was very grievous in his sight*, (or, according to the Original, *The word was very bad in the eyes of Abraham*), and the reason of her dismissal evidently shew that her discharge was not in consequence of any contract whatever, by which she was bound to serve a determinate number of years and no longer, there being not the least intimation given in the Sacred History of any such contract or agreement, but because her son's behaviour to Isaac, the promised and right Heir of the Family, was exceedingly odious

(*o*) Gen. 21. v. 9--14.

odious and very alarming to Sarah ; who, dreading the consequences of Ishmael's *persecution* of young Isaac, for so the Apostle styles it (*p*), insisted on his being *cast out* together with his mother Hagar.

XIV. THE Scriptural acceptation and extent of the word BONDAGE, and the relatives to it, being thus fixed and ascertained from the very letter and uniform tenour of Scripture itself, no arguments whatever, grounded on the true and real sense in which that word and its relatives are used in the Sacred Page, will ever evince, that a Slave, within the period of any of the Three Dispensations of true Religion mentioned in the Sacred Annals of the Word of God, not born an Hebrew, was ever bound by contract or otherwise to serve only a limited number of years, at the expiration of which he obtained his freedom, and was left at liberty to chuse for himself.

(*p*) Galatians, c. 4. v. 29.

SECTION III.

Scriptural Researches on the licitness of the Slave-Trade, shewing its conformity with the principles of the Christian Dispensation delineated in the Sacred Writings.

I. **T**HE Christian Dispensation, called frequently the Christian Law, the Law of Christ, the Christian Religion, the Law of Grace, the New Law, and the New Covenant or the New Testament, is that most sublime and perfect System of Faith and morality, which the Eternal Wisdom of the Father, Christ Jesus our Lord, both preached in Person, and sealed with his precious blood. As this New Law and Gospel of salvation is to remain in full force until the consummation of all things, or till time shall be no more, it is not in the power of any creature to ascertain the exact time of its duration and existence from the first promulgation of it; for *Of that day, and that hour knoweth no man, no not the Angels which are in heaven, neither the SON, but the FATHER (a).*

II. The principal transactions relative to this New Law are registered in the several inspired Writings, that compose the Sacred Volume commonly styled THE NEW TESTAMENT. The principles and moral duties of perpetual obligation respecting *Right* and *Wrong*,

(a) Mark, c. 13. v. 32.

Wrong, Justice and Injustice, registered in this Sacred Volume, being evidently dictated by the HOLY SPIRIT of God, and God himself, cannot consistently with the essential infallibility of his eternal Wisdom, bear the least opposition to the principles and moral duties of perpetual obligation, respecting, in like manner, *Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice*, dictated by the same infallible SPIRIT, and registered in the several inspired Writings, that compose the Sacred Volume, commonly styled the OLD TESTAMENT, comprehending such transactions, as relate to both the Natural and the Mosaic Laws.—Were it possible to be otherwise, God would not be consistent with himself, and the Religion of the New Testament, instead of being the perfection and accomplishment, would be the reproach and condemnation of both the former Laws, Natural and Mosaic, on the truth of which its very existence depends.

III. FROM this undeniable position it follows necessarily, that, as the Writings of both the Testaments have the same weight of Authority, essentially incapable of contradicting itself, in support of those principles and decisions, enacted and registered in their respective Records, concerning the intrinsic morality or immorality of human actions, whatever is declared in the One to be intrinsically good or bad, just or unjust, licit or illicit, must inevitably be so according to the principles of the Other.—If therefore, the SLAVE-TRADE appears, as, I trust, it does, from the preceding train of Scriptural arguments, in perfect harmony with the principles and decisions of the Word of God, registered in the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament, respecting the intrinsic nature of that Trade, this, of course,

can bear no opposition to, but must necessarily be in equal perfect harmony with, the principles and decisions of the Word of God respecting *Right* and *Justice*, registered in the Sacred Writings of the New.

This general but forcible argument, were it even unsupported by any collateral evidences from the Writings of the New Testament, would be fully sufficient to verify my third and last assertion respecting the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, as perfectly conformable to the principles of the Christian Dispensation.

IV. I HAVE been the more particular in bringing this last part of my Scriptural Researches to this central point of view, as I have more than one reason to apprehend, that several of my Readers will be apt to imagine, that, by the establishment of the Christian Religion, the Law of Moses was wholly abolished and annulled in every part of it, and to every intent and purpose, both typical and moral, of its original institution; and that, of course, the arguments drawn in vindication of the SLAVE-TRADE from the Writings of the Old Testament, can have no weight of conviction or authority with persons, who are subject to no other Laws and Ordinances, but those of a Dispensation, by which that was entirely laid aside.

V. TRUE as this assertion is with respect to the ritual, typical, and ceremonial part of the Mosaic Law, which, in this sense, is now utterly abolished, and no longer obligatory to the Professors of the Gospel, it is not less erroneous and false with respect to those fundamental principles of righteousness enacted in that Law, which relate to the intrinsic morality

morality or immorality, licitness or illicitness of human actions; which, from the invariable nature of *Right* and *Wrong*, *Justice* and *Injustice*, must be of perpetual obligation, and as unchangeable as God himself; who never did, nor ever could alter by any Dispensation whatever those eternal principles and laws, which are the very basis and foundation of true Religion, and consequently of the Religion of Christ.

We have no less an authority in confirmation of this indisputable Doctrine, than the very Words of the son of God, who, in that divine Sermon on the Mount, in which he gave his Disciples a most minute and circumstantial account of the principles and tenets of his Gospel, condemned the above erroneous opinion in the most explicit terms, and forbade them even to think of it: *Think not*, said he, *that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfil (b).*

It was on the principle of this Doctrine of the Son of God, and on purpose to guard against every exception to arguments drawn from the Writings of the Old Testament in favour of the SLAVE-TRADE, which some persons would be apt to make in consequence of the above erroneous opinion, that I especially apprized the Reader in the II^d Number of the last SECTION, that the arguments I meant to enforce in that Section in vindication of that Trade, would be entirely grounded, as they certainly are, on such written and explicit laws and principles of internal moral rectitude, as constituted the true morality of the Mosaic Dispensation; and not on such Legal observances and practices, as were

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peculiar

(b) Matt. c. 5. v. 17.

peculiar to it, and constituted only the ritual, typical, or ceremonial part of its frame.

VI. THE permanent and indefectible authority of the Old Testament, and the necessary conformity of the New with the principles and declarations of the former respecting the intrinsic nature of *Right* and *Wrong*, *Justice* and *Injustice*, being thus firmly established and ascertained; I shall now proceed, for argument's sake, to substantiate in a more particular manner the merits of the present Controversy with reference to the principles and tenets of the New Testament; which, from the unanswerable, though general, argument just enforced, appears already to give a sanction to the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, the intrinsic morality of which is so evidently warranted by those invariable principles and decisions of the Old, with which, as proved before, it must necessarily agree.

VII. THAT there is nothing in the Writings of the New Testament, that can be produced in justification of the SLAVE-TRADE, has been confidently asserted by many; and from this *supposed silence* of the Inspired Writers, they have as confidently concluded, that the Professors of Christianity are not justifiable in prosecuting a Trade, which, not having, in their opinion, the Sanction of the New Testament, must of course be essentially opposite to the principles of true Christianity, which forbids in the most explicit terms, and under the severest punishments, all acts of injustice, unnaturalness, and oppression.

VIII. THE stronger this inference, founded indeed on a false supposition, appears to the Advocates for African Liberty against the licitness of the
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SLAVE-TRADE, the more powerful the following arguments must appear to them ; which, from the same negative principle, not of *supposed*, but *real*, silence respecting the pretended illicitness of it, amounting in fact to a positive sanction in our Case, seem manifestly to evince, that the SLAVE-TRADE bears no opposition whatever to the principles of the Christian Law.

1. If the Writings of the New Testament mention nothing, as it is *falsely supposed*, in vindication of the SLAVE-TRADE, neither do they *in reality and truth* mention any thing in condemnation of it ; if then the *supposed* silence of the Inspired Writers respecting the licitness of that Trade, that is, their not mentioning that Trade at all, as it is *supposed*, can be brought as an argument of its moral inconsistency with the principles of true Christianity ; the *real* silence of the same respecting the pretended illicitness of it, that is, their not condemning the Trade at all, though publicly practised in their time, and by the very persons whom they were deputed to teach the principles and duties of Christianity, must be a stronger argument by far of the inherent moral conformity of the SLAVE-TRADE with the principles and tenets of the Religion of Christ : for it shews in the strongest light, that the first Teachers of Christianity, who were also the Inspired Writers of the New Testament, never considered the SLAVE-TRADE, or had been taught by their Master to consider it, as an infraction of any of the principles or moral precepts of his Gospel.

2. In effect ; this constant and uniform silence of the Sacred Writers of the New Testament in a matter of such public notoriety ; I mean their never
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disapproving the practice of a Trade, in which the rights of Christian justice and humanity are said to be so materially injured, ought to attract the attention of every impartial inquirer into the merits of the present Controversy.

It is an absolute fact, attested by all Historians, both Sacred and Profane, that at the very time that Christianity made its appearance in the World, as well as at the time that the Apostles and Disciples of Christ were employed in preaching and propagating throughout the World his holy Gospel and Doctrine, both before and after the same had been committed to writing, that is, before and after the New Testament was written, that the practice of Slavery, or the SLAVE-TRADE, was universally adopted by the very Nations to whom they brought the glad tidings of salvation, and who, through faith, repentance, and obedience to the maxims and doctrine they preached, were received into the Covenant of reconciliation and grace: and yet it is not less certain from the constant tenour of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament, that desisting from the prosecution of the SLAVE-TRADE, or manumitting those who were in actual bondage, was never declared by any of the Apostles or first Teachers of Christianity to be a necessary term of Salvation or acceptance with God, or an indispensable duty of a follower of Christ.

But were the Trade so diametrically opposite to the principles of Christianity, as it is asserted, were it a most unjustifiable usurpation of the sacred rights of justice and humanity, would the Apostles have suffered those sacred rights to be thus invaded and trampled upon with impunity, without so much as
signifying

signifying to those, whom they were commissioned to teach the Gospel of righteousness and peace, of love and charity, that it was in open contradiction with the principles and precepts of that Gospel?

3. In fine: this manner of reasoning to prove the moral conformity of the SLAVE-TRADE with the principles of the Christian Dispensation, acquires a degree of irresistible force, when applied to the conduct of our Blessed Saviour in his public character of Founder and Teacher of the New Law; for though he embraced every opportunity of reproof in the severest terms such irreligious abuses as were practised by the Jews, and of rectifying such false glosses, traditions, and comments, as had been added by them to the Law of Moses; yet he never once condemned, reproofed, or even hinted the least disapprobation of the practice of Slavery, so generally adopted in his time: no, not even in his Divine Sermon on the Mount, in which he spoke on set purpose of the most exalted duties of his Religion, entered into a minute and most circumstantial detail of many reciprocal offices and duties he required of his followers, and rectified some abuses, incomparably less criminal than would be that of enslaving our fellow-creatures, were this practice so very criminal and unjust as is represented by some modern advocates for African Liberty.(c)

4. The fact is: that, since neither the SON of God, being himself God, nor his Disciples commissioned to teach his doctrine, could ever alter the intrinsic nature of *Right* and *Wrong*; once the practice of Slavery, or the SLAVE-TRADE, had been expressly declared by the FATHER essentially just and

and lawful in the Sacred Writings of the Old Law, which the SON *did not come to destroy, but to fulfil* (*d*), it was absolutely impossible, that either HE or his Disciples should declare it unlawful and unjust in the Writings of the New, the principles of both the Laws, respecting the intrinsic nature of *Right* and *Wrong*, *Justice* and *Injustice*, being invariably the same.

It follows then, that the argument drawn in favour of the SLAVE-TRADE from the constant silence of the Inspired Writers of the New Testament respecting the pretended illicitness of that Trade, that is, from their never mentioning any thing against the licitness of it, which, in the circumstances above related, would have been only a negative inference, though of considerable weight in vindication of it, becomes now, from this last very material circumstance, a most powerful positive argument, shewing in the strongest light, that the nature of the SLAVE-TRADE is perfectly consonant to the principles and tenets of the Christian Law.

IX, THOUGH the argument built on the *supposed silence* of the Inspired Writers of the New Testament respecting the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, is very amply confuted by the preceding arguments drawn from the *real silence* of the same Sacred Writers respecting the pretended illicitness of it, which are, indeed, abundantly sufficient to establish beyond the power of cavil or reply this last part of my SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES; yet, lest any one should still persist in maintaining the opinion so generally received, that there is nothing *positive* in the Writings of the New Testament, that can be produced

duced in justification of the SLAVE-TRADE, I think it expedient to select one or two principal instances out of these Sacred Books, which, I flatter myself, will not only gratify his curiosity, but serve to convince him in the plainest manner, that, however general his opinion may be, it is not so evident as he has been taught to believe,

I. EPISTLE to TIMOTHY.

X. AMONG the several instructions given in this EPISTLE by St. Paul to his beloved Disciple Timothy for the Government of the Church of Ephesus, of which he was Bishop, there are some concerning the general duties of that part of his Flock, who were under the yoke of bondage or Slavery, that seem to claim our particular attention. The instructions, here alluded to, are in the VIth Chapter of this EPISTLE, and are the following :

v. 1. Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own Masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God, and his doctrine, be not blasphemed.

2. And they that have believing Masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren : but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.

3. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness,

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4. He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions, and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, &c.

XI. THE Apostle in these words describes two classes of Christian Slaves, or Servants under the yoke of bondage: Slaves subject to unbelievers, and Slaves subject to true believers or Christians; and, according to their respective situations, he specifies the general duties belonging to each class.

1. The former are exhorted to *count their own Masters*, though Infidels, *worthy of all honour*: that is, they are exhorted to shew their Masters, both in words and actions, such unfeigned marks of honour, submission, and respect, as they have a right to claim, for *they are worthy of all honour*, from the superiority of their rank and station in life, and the authority they have acquired over them by the possession of their persons. The reason for enforcing such dutiful deportment is very powerful: you are to exhort them, says the Apostle to Timothy, to behave in this becoming manner, *that the name of God, and his doctrine, be not blasphemed*: that is, lest the unbelieving Masters, seeing the contrary deportment in their Christian Slaves, attribute their insolent, disrespectful, and disobedient conduct, to the principles and doctrine of their Religion, and thus bring reproach and infamy upon both.

2. The latter Class of Christian Slaves, subject to Christian Masters, are earnestly exhorted, not only not to be less respectful and obsequious to the latter, for being their brethren in Christ, and joint-members with them of the same Communion and Church, as if they were their equals in every respect,

pect, but to shew, on this very account, in their readiness and zeal to serve them, a superior degree of submission and obedience to their lawful authority; not considering themselves upon a footing of natural equality with those whose Slaves they are, though entitled at the same time to all the promises and spiritual franchises of true Believers.

XII. FROM the tenour of these Apostolic instructions, confirmed by many other similar declarations to the same effect, frequently occurring in the Writings of the New Testament, I am naturally led to deduce the following consequences in support of the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE.

1. It is then evident from the Doctrine of St. Paul, that Christians, however entitled by Baptism to the Spiritual freedom of Children of God, and Heirs of Heaven, ought yet, when under the yoke of human bondage or slavery, to consider themselves under the strictest obligation of reverencing the authority of their Masters, even of unbelieving Masters; *and counting them worthy of all honour.* But were the SLAVE-TRADE, or the keeping of our fellow-creatures in bondage, unnatural and unjust, it could never be said, that Slaves were under the least obligation in conscience to reverence and obey an unjust, an unnatural authority; or that their Masters, who, by reducing them to that abject condition, had trampled on the Sacred rights of justice and humanity, were *worthy of all honour*, or, indeed, of any shadow of honour, but, on the contrary, of all dishonour and reproach.

2. It is likewise evident from the Apostle's doctrine, that the primitive Christians were not only not forbidden, but expressly allowed by the princi-

ples of our Religion the purchasing of Slaves, and keeping their fellow-creatures, nay, even their fellow-Christians, under the yoke of bondage or Slavery; and from the circumstance of their Slaves being so particularly cautioned not to consider themselves on the footing of natural equality with their Masters; not to despise them and their authority for being their equals in all spiritual attainments and franchises, but to shew, on this very account, a greater degree of readiness and alacrity to render them due service, their Masters are evidently declared to have had a just and indisputable claim to that service, as their own lawful property.

XIII. NEITHER can it be said, that this doctrine, perhaps, novel to some of my Readers, which Timothy is directed *to teach and to exhort*, was only the private opinion of St. Paul; for he declares to him in express words, that it is *a doctrine according to godliness*, the very doctrine of Christ himself, and not to be contradicted by any one, without incurring the accumulated guilt of pride and folly with a criminal train of attendants: “ If any man, *says he*, “ teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome “ words, even the words of our LORD JESUS “ CHRIST, and to the doctrine, which is according “ to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but “ doting about questions, and strifes of words, “ whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil sur- “ misings, &c.

XIV. So far then from being true, that there is nothing in the Sacred Writings of the New Testament, that can be produced in vindication of the SLAVE-TRADE, the palpable evidence just produced in justification of that Trade from the authentic words of
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One of the very principal inspired Authors of those Sacred Writings, must convince every candid inquirer into the merits of the present Controversy, that, if the SLAVE-TRADE, as demonstrated in the two preceding Parts, appears so visibly warranted by the Writings of the Old Testament, the same is not less evidently authorized, but rather more explicitly vindicated from every suspicion of guilt and immorality by the Writings of the New: for, they do not only declare in formal words, that the teaching of the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, exemplified in the practice of the Primitive Christians, is a *Doctrine according to Godliness*, and according to *wholesome words, even the words of our LORD JESUS CHRIST*, but they even stigmatize the Teachers of the contrary doctrine with epithets and appellations not of the most pleasing sounds.

EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

XV. PHILEMON, to whom St. Paul addresses this affectionate Epistle was a rich Colossian, and a Christian of distinguished merit. The character given of him in the first part of this Epistle, represents him as one of the most zealous and fervent Christians of his time. His assiduity in promoting the interest of Christianity in quality of *Fellow-labourer* with St. Paul (e), his *love and faith towards the Lord Jesus*, and his generous unbounded charity *towards all the saints*, or his fellow-Christians (f),
whom

(e) Ep. to Phil. v. 1.

(f) Ibid. v. 5.

whom he relieved and comforted on all occasions (*g*), gained him the confidence, esteem, and affection of the Apostle and of the whole Church at large (*b*).

XVI. THIS Primitive and exemplary Christian had in his service one ONESIMUS, a Slave, who, as it is very strongly intimated by St. Paul, having defrauded his Master of some part of his property, and knowing the influence the Apostle had over him, eloped from his Master's house, went to Rome, where St. Paul was then in prison, was converted by him, and received into the Communion of the Christian Church (*i*); and having by his good services and conduct, gained the Apostle's favour, he seems to have prevailed on him to write to his Master Philemon in his behalf.

XVII. THE Letter, of which ONESIMUS himself appears to have been the bearer, is a master-piece of eloquence, and one of the finest compositions extant in the epistolary kind. Nothing can be more tender, more pressing, more animated and persuasive: entreaties and authority, praises and recommendations, religious motives and motives of personal gratitude and integrity, are most inimitably well tempered and allayed together. In short, almost every word of this concise Epistle contains some argument or reason to effect a reconciliation between Philemon and Onesimus, and to obtain from the Master the readmission of his fugitive Slave into his house and service.

XVIII. THE following XIV Verses of this elegant Epistle, which seem to have a more immediate connexion than the rest with the subject of our present

(*g*) Ibid. v. 7. (*b*) Ibid. v. 7.

(*i*) Ibid. v. 10.

sent inquiry, will afford me sufficient matter for such reflections, as will not only confirm the doctrine enforced in this SECTION, respecting the moral conformity of the SLAVE-TRADE with the principles of the Christian Dispensation; but prevent me from proceeding any farther in my SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES on this interesting subject.

The following is a literal transcript of the Contents of the Apostle's Letter to PHILEMON from the VIIIth to the XXII^d Verse.

8. Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient;

9. Yet, for love's sake, I rather beseech thee, being such a one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ.

10. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds.

11. Which in time past was to thee unprofitable; but now profitable to thee and to me;

12. Whom I have sent again; thou therefore receive him, that is mine own bowels.

13. Whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the Gospel.

14. But without thy mind would I do nothing, that thy benefit should not be, as it were, of necessity, but willingly.

15. For perhaps he therefore departed for a season; that thou shouldest receive him for ever :

16. Not

16. Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord?

17. If thou count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself.

18. If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee ought, put that on mine account.

19. I Paul have written it with my own hand, I will repay it : albeit I do not say to thee, how thou owest unto me even thine own self besides :

20. Yea, Brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord ; refresh my bowels in the Lord.

21. Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say.

XIX. THE following obvious remarks, adapted to the subject of our present inquiry respecting the moral licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, seem naturally to arise from the tenour of this sacred portion of Scripture.

1. The Apostle declares in the first place, that, were he to act in the plenitude of his Apostolic Commission and Authority, without any regard to the dictates of his love and friendship for Philemon, he would not use the style of a suppliant, as he does, but would peremptorily enjoin him to receive his fugitive Slave into his house and service, which he is bound to do in decency and duty: the word *Convenient* in the original has both these meanings. From which declaration it evidently follows, that the Apostle was so far from thinking, that Philemon had acted wrong or unjustly in keeping Onesimus

mus in bondage, when yet an unbeliever, that he assures him, on the contrary, he would act in opposition to his duty, or unjustly, in not receiving him again, when baptized, into his house and service.

2. This declaration acquires a superior degree of force from the circumstance he subjoins to his request, as a powerful inducement for Philemon to receive him again into his service. This circumstance, alluding to the name of ONESIMUS, which in Greek is the same as PROFITABLE, is both beautiful and interesting. The Apostle owns without disguise, that Onesimus *in time past had* certainly *been an unprofitable*, or, in Scripture language, *a bad Servant* (k): but, as he could now assure Philemon, that he was quite reclaimed, and become *profitable* to both, he earnestly solicits his readmission, in order that he may be enabled to make amends for his past negligence and inattention to his service by his future diligence and assiduity.—It was then Onesimus's duty to have been useful and *profitable* to his Master Philemon, whilst under the yoke of servitude; and it was an act of manifest injustice in him to have been *unprofitable* and of no service. Philemon then had a just and undoubted right to the service of Onesimus, as his Slave; or else Onesimus could never have been taxed by the Apostle with acting the part of an *unprofitable* or *bad servant*, or with any personal injustice for neglecting a service, which Philemon had no right or title to demand.

3. Again: to convince Philemon, how much Onesimus was changed for the better since his elopement, and the great reformation that his conversion to Christianity had wrought in his morals and conduct,

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(k) Matt. c. 25, v. 30.

duct, he tells him, how much he was inclined himself to keep him in his own service; intimating to him in this delicate and gentle manner, that he could have no objection to receive again into his service a person so well qualified as Onesimus was then, to be an Apostle's servant: and he assures him further, that the only reason that has prevented him from indulging his inclination to detain him, has been his not having had his leave and consent for so doing: *without which*, says he, he would never attempt to deprive him of his Slave.—From this declaration it appears in the strongest light, how very sacred and inviolable the acquired rights of Masters over their Slaves, even of Christian Masters and Slaves, were held by St. Paul, who would not by any means deprive Philemon of Onesimus, however useful the latter was to him at that time, and whatever ascendancy he had over his Master, without having first obtained his express approbation and consent: he would then, says he, receive Onesimus as a *benefit* perfectly gratuitous, as a free and voluntary gift made to him by Philemon of so valuable a part of his property.

4. Till he obtains this consent, he sends Onesimus back to his lawful Master, entreating him in the most pressing and affectionate manner, to use him with all possible tenderness and regard: to consider him now as a member of the Communion of the true believers, and consequently not in the character of a common menial Slave, but as his own brother in Christ, though still his property *according to the flesh*, which to him particularly ought to be dearer than ever, as being now consecrated to God.—And lest Philemon should insist on Onesimus making

making due satisfaction for having defrauded him of his time, or other property, and should, on that account, use him with severity, the Apostle engages to make him full reparation, and becomes himself responsible for the whole: which is a manifest acknowledgement of Philemon's right, as the lawful Master of Onesimus, to inflict due punishment on his SLAVE.

XX. FROM these observations, so naturally flowing from the contents of the Apostle's letter to Philemon, these two necessary consequences seem as naturally to follow.

I. Had St. Paul, who had been instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion, not by men, but immediately by Christ himself (*l*), *whose chosen vessel he was to bear his name before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the Children of Israel (m)*, been taught by his Divine Master, that the SLAVE-TRADE, or the purchasing of Slaves, or keeping those already purchased in servitude or bondage, was an unnatural, iniquitous pursuit, contrary to the Spirit of his Religion, he would have certainly addressed himself to Philemon in a very different style from that of his present Letter; and, instead of acting the part of a Suppliant, the part of an intercessor and Mediator, as he does, in soliciting of him the re-admission of a fugitive Slave, he would have assumed the style and tone of a Master; would have severely condemned the unjustifiable conduct of Philemon in detaining him in criminal bondage, contrary to the Laws of his holy Religion, would not have suffered him to return to his unnatural Master Philemon, especially after he had converted him to Christianity,

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and

(*l*) Galatians, c. I. v. I.(*m*) Acts, c. 9. v. 15.

and entitled him by Baptism to the glorious franchises and liberty of the Children of God, and would not have stood on complimentary ceremonies, finding him useful in his actual state of confinement, to retain him in his ministry, without asking his pretended Master's leave, or without his consent.

This, I am confident, would have been the language and conduct of the Apostle, had he been taught by his Divine Master, that the principles and doctrine of the Gospel, he was commissioned to preach, were in direct opposition to the practice of the SLAVE-TRADE, to the practice of purchasing Slaves, or keeping those already purchased in bondage or slavery.

2. But, since the Apostle, conformably to the instructions he had received from his Lord and Master JESUS CHRIST, respecting every part of a Christian's duty, expresses himself in this Epistle, as well as in every other, where he speaks on this much misrepresented subject, in terms and language diametrically opposite to the sentiments just mentioned; we are forced to conclude, that, since Philemon, as well as many other Primitive Christians, cotemporary with the Apostles of Christ, and first Teachers of Christianity, kept Slaves, even Christian Slaves, in their service, in the very face of the whole Church, and with the approbation and knowledge of the primitive Apostles and Disciples of Christ, as has been demonstrated from some of the clearest testimonies of the New Testament, the nature of the SLAVE-TRADE being so visibly authorized by the positive sanction of those Sacred Writings, must be essentially just and lawful in its principles, and perfectly consonant to those of the Christian Law.

XXI. EVIDENT as this conclusion appears from the Scriptural arguments enforced in the course of this SECTION, I cannot close the subject of these RESEARCHES without taking some notice of what, I apprehend, will be objected against it from the Words of our Blessed Saviour in his divine Sermon on the Mount, which in the VIIIth Number of this Section I declared with particular stress to contain nothing against the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE. —The words, here alluded to, will, I presume, be thus retorted against it.

All things whatsoever, says our blessed Saviour, ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets (n): whatsoever things therefore we would not, that men should do to us, we are not even so to do to them; but no person whatever would certainly wish, that a fellow-creature should reduce him to the condition of a Slave: therefore no person whatever is to reduce a fellow-creature to that condition.

XXII. HERE again I must observe, that no one can justly tax me with any partiality to the Cause I have espoused: I have, I think, worded the argument against it in terms as forcible, as the most zealous advocate for African Liberty, could use. But unanswerable as the same may appear to them, it is but a plausible argument at the best.

It is an Axiom in LOGIC, that *An argument that proves too much, proves nothing*: the above is just such a one: for, by the same manner of reasoning, one might equally conclude, contrary to the Law and the Prophets, and the doctrine of the Christian Religion

Religion, that not only Slavery, but every other kind of subordination of one man to another, ought not to be suffered to continue in the World. —The argument, if conclusive in the former case, must be equally so in the latter : I enforce it thus :—

All things whatsoever, says our blessed Saviour, *ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the Law and the Prophets :* whatsoever things therefore we would not that men should do to us, we are not even so to do to them ; but every person would naturally wish not to be controlled by a fellow-creature, not to be under any subjection to him, but to be absolute master of his own actions ; no person therefore ought to keep a fellow-creature under any control or subjection whatever.

XXIII. SUCH is the consequence of wresting the natural and obvious meaning of the maxims of Scripture, and applying them to purposes inconsistent with Scripture itself. The GOLDEN MAXIM of our Divine Master, comprehending in two words the whole perfection of a Christian, was certainly intended by him for all stations in life, for of such was his Church to consist to the end of time : from the Throne to the Cottage, in every walk of life, in bondage or at liberty, every Christian is taught and directed TO DO UNTO OTHERS, AS HE WOULD BE DONE UNTO ; and, by a necessary consequence, NOT TO DO UNTO OTHERS, AS HE WOULD NOT BE DONE UNTO : that is, every Christian is commanded to behave to his neighbour, in whatever situation or circumstances of life Providence may have placed them both, just as he would wish his neighbour would behave to him in his situation, were his neighbour's

bour's situation and circumstances his own : so that, to apply the MAXIM to a particular Case (even the Case in question), no Christian Master can be said *to do unto others as he would be done unto*, unless he behaves to his Slave with the same tenderness, justice, and humanity, as he would with his Slave would behave to him, were the Slave his Master, and himself the Slave; and, upon the same principle, no Slave can be said *to do unto others as he would be done unto*, unless he serves his Master with the same fidelity submission, and respect, which he would expect from his Master, were the latter his Slave, and himself the Master.

XXIV. THE GOLDEN MAXIM then, of DOING UNTO OTHERS, AS WE WOULD BE DONE UNTO, is so far from condemning in the most distant manner the prosecution of the SLAVE-TRADE, that, when applied to the Case of Christian Masters and their Slaves, it serves, on the contrary, to enforce their reciprocal duties in their different spheres of life. Neither could it be otherwise, seeing, that the same Divine Authority, on which the truth of the above MAXIM is founded, has so frequently given his sanction in the Writings of both the Testaments to the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE.

XXV. I HAVE now, I think, verified in its full extent, the assertion I engaged to prove in the Title-page; that these SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES on the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, would shew the moral conformity of that Trade with the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion delineated in the Sacred Writings of the WORD of GOD : and as I prefixed to the Whole certain Positions or DATA, on the truth of which the undeniable religious certainty

tainty of that moral conformity is entirely founded, so I shall now annex to the whole a few **COROLLARIES** or **Consequences**, which, from their necessary dependance on the former **DATA**, must convince every religious and candid Reader of the necessity of acquiescing in the Scriptural Doctrine enforced in these **RESEARCHES**.

COROLLARIES.

COROLLARIES.

SINCE the Sacred Writings of the HOLY BIBLE contain the unerring Decisions of the WORD of GOD, the Authority of which in both the Testaments is founded on the essential veracity of God, who is TRUTH itself; it follows necessarily, that, as there can be no prescription against that Authority, which, in the several passages quoted in the series of the foregoing RESEARCHES, has positively declared, that the SLAVE-TRADE is intrinsically good and licit, this, by a necessary consequence, must be essentially so in its own nature, however contrary such declarations may be to the received opinion of some men for any length of time.

II.

SINCE the Supreme Legislator of the World is infinitely just and wise in all his Decisions respecting *Right* and *Wrong*, and is no ways accountable to his creatures for the reasons of his conduct in the government of the World; so it must be a degree of presumption highly criminal in any creature to refuse assent to those particular Decisions, by which he has so positively declared the intrinsic licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, only because he cannot account for that impartial justice, which characterises every

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Decision

Decision of God, from those hidden principles of Eternal Justice, incomprehensible to him, which induced the Almighty to establish in the World that subordinate state of absolute subjection of some of his rational Creatures to others.

DETAILS.

SINCE no person can be supposed to acknowledge in fact, that the HOLY SCRIPTURES are the unerring WORD of GOD, unless he acquiesces without reserve in every Scriptural Decision, however incomprehensible the reasons and motives of those Decisions may be to him, and that on no other account, but because he believes them to be the Declarations of God, who, being TRUTH itself, can neither err himself, nor lead any one into error; it follows necessarily, that whoever does not acquiesce in those Scriptural Decisions, quoted in the series of the foregoing RESEARCHES, declaring in formal Words the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, cannot be said to acknowledge in fact, that the HOLY SCRIPTURES are the unerring WORD of GOD.

IV.

SINCE not only one, but several Decisions of the Written WORD of GOD, as appears from the foregoing RESEARCHES, give a positive sanction to the licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE; it is not from the principle of private or National advantages attending the prosecution of it, which can never affect the intrinsic nature of any human pursuit, that any one is to believe, that the SLAVE-TRADE is intrinsically
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just and lawful in the strictest sense of the word, but from the incontrovertible veracity of the Written Word of GOD, whose Decisions they are, and who is essentially incompatible with the least degree of injustice.

V.

SINCE no abuses or malpractices whatever, committed in the prosecution of a lawful pursuit, can ever alter the intrinsic licitness of it; there being no other arguments, that can be produced against the SLAVE-TRADE, but such as are built on the strength of such abuses as are said to be perpetrated in the prosecution of it; no arguments whatever will ever evince any intrinsic moral turpitude in its Nature, so explicitly declared just and lawful in the Sacred Writings of the WORD of GOD, notwithstanding the many abuses to which it was formerly subject, and were formerly practised, as well as now.

VI.

SINCE no abuses or malpractices whatever, though of the greatest magnitude, committed in former times in the prosecution of the SLAVE-TRADE (a), ever induced the Almighty to prohibit or abolish that Trade, but only to check by wholesome and coercive Laws the violence of unnatural Masters (b), and to punish the transgressors with the greatest severity (c); there appears no rea-

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(a) Gen. 35. 22. Exod. 21, 8, 16 20, 26, 27. Levit. 19. 20.

Jerem. 34. v. 8--18. (b) Exod. 21. v. 7, 12, 16, 20, 21, 26, 27.

Levit. 19. v. 20, 21, 22. Ibid. 25. v. 39--43. (c) Jerem. c. 34. v. 17--22.

for whatever, why the abuses and malpractices said to be perpetrated in our days in the prosecution of the same Trade, evidently subject to the control of the Legislature, should be deemed a powerful inducement to proceed to the abolition of it.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

*Scriptural Directions for the proper treatment of Slaves,
enforced by some exemplary punishments inflicted on
unnatural Masters by Divine vindictive Justice.*

I. **T**HE very title of this Section does sufficiently inform the Reader, that the Directions I mean to suggest for the treatment of Slaves, cannot be supposed to compose any regular Code or System of Civil Legislation: I have neither leisure, abilities, or, indeed, sufficient information of the Colonial Establishments in the West-Indies, and of the several modes of pursuing the SLAVE-TRADE in the different parts of the Coast of Africa, for attempting the task with the least prospect of success. An attempt of this nature would necessarily divert me, and that very fruitlessly, from the Theological path of information I have traced to myself, as being the only one, where I can venture with safety in consort with the Word of God.

Within the boundaries of this sacred path, I shall now present the Reader with a series of such Scriptural Directions, as may serve, if properly attended to, not only to instruct the Conductors and Proprietors of Slaves, how to regulate their deportment towards that useful description of our fellow-creatures, but effectually to deter them, unless *given over*

over to a reprobate mind (a), from ever swerving by any acts of wanton despotism and oppression from the sacred bounds of that delegated authority, with which they are entrusted only for a time.

Relative DUTIES of MASTERS to their SLAVES.

II. ALL the particular duties of indispensable obligation, which every Slave has a natural right to expect and demand from his lawful Master, may be easily classed under these two great general duties, JUSTICE and HUMANITY.—Religion, and a proper supply of all the necessaries of life, are essential duties of *Justice*: moderation in work, and temper in correction, are indispensable duties of *Humanity*.

III. THE moment a person becomes the lawful Master of a Slave, he becomes responsible to God for the use of that authority, with which he is invested. By this investiture, which he holds from God, whose visible Substitute he is to his Slave (b), he contracts the strictest obligation in conscience to perform on his part such relative duties of Justice and Humanity, as are inseparably annexed to his sacred trust, and which he cannot refuse to his Slave, without incurring the guilt of apostacy from the Christian Faith, and becoming worse than a heathen: for, *If any, says the Apostle, provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the Faith, and is worse than an infidel.* (c)

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The sin of apostacy, with which a Master's neglect in providing for those of his own house, is here taxed by St. Paul, does evidently imply, that the provision he is so strictly bound in justice to make for every one in his service, emptitious or otherwise (admitting, for the present, the latter description of domestic Servants to have existed at Ephesus in the Apostle's time), is of a religious nature, and an essential branch of that comprehensive Virtue, called by Divines the VIRTUE OF RELIGION, which, from the binding nature of the two Great Commandments, *on which hang all the Law and the Prophets (d)*, exacts from every Christian, as a general duty incumbent on all, to be occasionally instrumental in promoting the advancement of Religion; and, from the sacredness of that parental dominion over those of his own house, which is vested in every Master of Slaves, lays the strictest obligation upon them to afford their bond-servants all the necessary means for working out their salvation, under pain of forfeiting every claim to their own.

IV. THE very first duty then, that every Christian Master of Slaves educated in the school of Paganism, is indispensably bound in justice to discharge, is to procure them such religious information of the principles of Christianity, as may enable them *to come unto the knowledge of the truth (e)*, to forsake the errors of their idolatrous Worship, to know the adorable Person of their Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, *who gave himself a ransom for all (f)*, bond as well as free, Slaves as well as Masters, and to acquire such competent knowledge of the

(d) Matt. c. 22, vv. 36--41. (e) 1 Tim. c. 2, v. 4. (f) Ibid. v. 6.

the elements of the Christian Faith, of the nature of those solemn engagements and vows, which are made in the Sacrament of Regeneration, and of the hopes and promises of the Gospel, as may convince them of the necessity of becoming *partakers of the benefit* of Christ's Redemption (g), by means of the expiatory waters of the Sacrament of Baptism (h).

V. THAT this religious provision is the first essential duty of every Master of Slaves, is evidently intimated in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God; where it is expressly mentioned, that, when the Almighty made his Holy Covenant with Abraham and his posterity, and instituted the solemn Rite of Circumcision, the type and figure of our Baptism, he made the circumcising of Slaves, and admitting them by that means to the participation of their privileges, as Children of God and members of his Church, an essential condition of that Covenant, a necessary term of salvation, and an indispensable part of the Master's duty to his Slaves.

“ This is my Covenant, *said the Almighty to*
 “ *Abraham*, which ye shall keep between me and
 “ you; and thy seed after thee: every man-child
 “ among you shall be circumcised; and ye shall
 “ circumcise the flesh of your fore-skin, and it
 “ shall be a token of the Covenant betwixt me and
 “ you. And he, that is eight days old, shall be
 “ circumcised among you; every man-child in your
 “ generations, he that is born in the house, or
 “ *bought with money* of any stranger, which is not
 “ of thy seed. He that is born in thy house, and
 “ *he that is bought with money*, must needs be cir-
 “ cumcised: and my Covenant shall be in your
 “ flesh,

“ flesh for an everlasting Covenant, And the un-
 “ circumcised man-child, whose flesh of his fore-
 “ skin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off
 “ from his people: he hath broken my Cove-
 “ nant”(a).

Accordingly, we find in the sequel, that no
 sooner the Holy Patriarch was informed of so es-
 sential a part of his duty to his Slaves, but complied
 without delay with the Almighty's command: for
 “ He took Ishmael his son, and all that were born
 “ in his house, and *all that were bought with his*
 “ *money*, every male among the men of Abraham's
 “ house, and circumcised the flesh of their fore-
 “ skin in the self-same day, as God had said unto
 “ him”(b).

VI. THIS act of Abraham's initiating his Slaves
 with the rest of his Family, by the express com-
 mand of God, into his Church, ought to be con-
 sidered by all Christian Masters, who have any pre-
 tensions to Religion, as a precedent of that religious
 provision, which they are equally bound in justice
 to make for their Slaves, by initiating them into
 the Church of Christ: for, if Abraham, as the
 Apostle declares, “ received the sign of Circumci-
 “ sion, a seal of the righteousness of the Faith,
 “ which he had yet being uncircumcised, that he
 “ might be the Father of all them that believe,
 “ though they be not circumcised,—and the Father
 “ of Circumcision to them who are not of the Cir-
 “ cumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that
 “ faith of our Father Abraham, which he had being
 “ yet uncircumcised”(c), no Christian Master can
 ever claim the least title to this spiritual filiation, in-
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(a) Gen. c. 17. vv. 10--15. (b) Ibid 17. v. 23. (c) Rom. c. 4. vv. 11. 12.

dispensably necessary to salvation, unless he walks in the steps of that Father of the Faithful, by providing, as a Master, for the spiritual welfare of his Slaves, as did Abraham, in the same capacity, for his own.

VII. BUT a Christian Master would make a very inadequate religious provision for his Slaves, were he to rest satisfied with barely initiating them into the New Covenant, and leaving them afterwards destitute of every other religious assistance for fulfilling those solemn engagements, which they made at the sacred Font, and exposing them by that means to the certain danger of prophaning the sacred character of Christians, and thus bringing upon themselves an additional weight of guilt and punishment: for, in the language of St. Peter, "If, after
 " they have escaped the pollutions of the world,
 " through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour
 " Jesus Christ; they are again entangled therein,
 " and overcome, the latter end is worse with them
 " than the beginning; for it had been better for
 " them not to have known the way of righteousness,
 " than, after they have known it, to turn
 " from the holy commandment delivered unto
 " them"(d).

VIII. IT is a principle of the Christian Religion, inculcated in innumerable places of the New Testament, that Baptism in the New Law makes every Neophyte, as did Circumcision in the Old, *a debtor to do the whole Law* (e). Whence it follows necessarily, that as it is the duty of every Christian Slave to do the whole Law, so it must be the duty of every Christian Master to see that they do it; and consequently to enable them to perform all such religious

ligious duties, as they are bound to perform *to make their calling and election sure* (f); to pay the strictest attention to their morals; and, above all, to shew them in their own religious deportment an exemplar of every christian virtue, and an abhorrence of every vice. Without the concurrence of this last most effectual mode of instruction, which, indeed, is one of the most principal parts of that religious provision, which every Master is bound in justice to make for his Slaves, no Master will ever discharge in the sight of God the obligations of his sacred trust, and the debt of justice he owes to them, however attentive he may be in every other respect to their spiritual welfare.

IX. THAT the Masters fidelity in procuring to their Slaves, already initiated into sacred Fold, this most essential provision, is a debt not only of the strictest obligation in conscience, but such, as, when faithfully discharged, will insure to them the favour and protection of God, appears evident in the case of Abraham, from the reason assigned by the Almighty for the prosperity that attended that Holy Patriarch and his Race. *Abraham, said the Lord, shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him: for I know him, that he will command his children, and his household after him* (a considerable number of which latter description were certainly his Slaves (g), *and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgement, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him* (b). Where it is very observable, that it was not the bare religious initiation of his Slaves with the rest of his Family,

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that

(f) 2. Pet. c. 1. v. 10. (g) Gen. 17. v. 23.

(b) Gen. c. 18. vv. 18, 19.

that insured to Abraham and his posterity the particular protection of God, (a circumstance not even hinted at in the Almighty's declaration, though immediately prior to it), but the unremitted care the Patriarch took afterwards, that *they should keep the way of the Lord*, into which he had initiated them.

Now, as a convincing proof, that his care and attention to the morals and religious conduct of his Slaves, as well as the rest of his Family, was to be enforced by his own personal example in the practice of every religious duty, we are informed in the series of the sacred Page, that the very blessing promised to Abraham and his posterity in the above declaration of God, was ultimately depending on Abraham himself performing, as a Master, what he, in that capacity, enjoined his children and bond-servants to perform: for, *in thy seed*, said the Almighty to his son Isaac, soon after his Father's death, *shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws, (i)*. Where it is evident, that the accomplishment of the Almighty's promise to Abraham depended ultimately on Abraham teaching his Family *to keep the way of the Lord*, by keeping it himself, or enforcing by the example of his own practice what he commanded them by word of mouth.

X. In effect, a Christian Master of Slaves, who does not strengthen by personal example the religious instructions, he has either given or procured to them, does not only dishonour in practice the object of his worship, by disowning in fact the necessity of performing such duties, as he has taught them

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(i) Gen. c. 26. vv. 4, 5.

to believe are indispensably necessary to salvation (*k*), but does also enhance his own guilt by putting a stumbling-block, or an occasion to fall in their way (*l*).—And, indeed; if, according to the awful declaration of the Son of God, the sin of drawing others from their allegiance to him by bad example, the sin of *offending one of the little ones that believe in him*, even when committed by an indifferent person, be so very heinous in the sight of God, that *it were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea* (*m*); what an accumulation of guilt and punishment must not the same bring on those irreligious Masters of Christian Slaves, who, bound by the most sacred ties of Religion and conscience to promote the eternal welfare of their little ones, who have believed in Christ, and *provoke them to good works* (*n*) by their own personal example in the practice of every religious duty, do, on the contrary, by their scandalous, immoral, and profligate lives, put so many stumbling-blocks or occasions to fall in their way, teach them a practical contempt of the Gospel they possess, and, by thus corrupting the innocence of their hearts, impiously rob the Son of God of the fruits of his Redemption? For, if *he that despised Moses's law*, by an open prophanation of it, *died without mercy, under two or three witnesses*; of how much sorer punishment ought we not to suppose shall he be thoughtworthy, who, by an habitual practice of infidelity and vice, and any open violation of every precept of the Gospel, both necessarily tending to the spiritual ruin of those, with whose salvation he is so particularly entrusted, *treads under foot the Son of God, counts the blood*

(*k*) Rom. c. 2. vv. 17, 25,

(*l*) Rom. c. 14. v. 13. (*m*) Mark, c. 9. v. 42

(*n*) Hebr. c. 10. v. 24.

blood of the Covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and doth despite unto the spirit of grace ? (o)

XI. THIS most serious, as well as most alarming conclusion, is equally, if not perhaps more personally, applicable to those pretended Christians, Masters of Slaves, who, from a settled disregard to every principle of religion and justice, or from, I know not, what mistaken motive of self-interest, withhold from their Slaves the salutary waters of Baptism, and suffer them to live and die in a state of absolute alienation from their Creator and Redeemer, and consequently destitute of every hope and comfort of a better World. Such criminal and faithless Masters may, with the utmost propriety, be said *to tread under foot the Son of God, to count the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, and to do despite unto the spirit of grace*; because, by the very act of depriving their Slaves of the very means by which they can become partakers of the infinite merits of their Divine Redeemer, of the inestimable benefit of his precious blood, and of the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit, they counteract the gracious design of the Son of God, stop the sacred stream of his Redemption, and impiously *resist the Holy Ghost (p)*, by opposing the communication of his grace.

Neither is this accumulated sin of impiety mitigated, but rather heightened, in point of guilt, when, from a mistaken principle of self-interest, a Master withholds from his Slaves the source of salvation and life eternal; because, were it even so, which daily experience contradicts, that his temporal interest in the service of his Slaves would suffer by

by their conversion to Christianity, still nothing could excuse, but every thing would contribute to enhance, the Master's impiety in preferring, against conviction, the sordid emoluments of his avarice to their eternal welfare; which being his first and principal duty to promote, he cannot withhold it from them without becoming himself *unworthy of everlasting life* (q).

XII. I SAID, that no motive of self-interest, properly considered, can ever induce a Master to suffer his Slaves to live in a state of infidelity, whilst in his service.—It will be easily granted, I believe, that the most irreligious Master in the World will think his interest most secure, when he is served by persons, who, from a principle of religion and conscience, consider his service as a part of their duty to God, and themselves accountable to him in the end for every wilful neglect in the performance of it.—This practical position once granted, it is not easy to conceive, what real motive of self-interest can ever influence a Master's conduct in withholding from his Slaves the very means, by which alone they can be taught to consider his service, not as an undue tyrannical task, extorted from them by compulsion and dread of punishment, as they will naturally do whilst in the state of the grossest ignorance and infidelity, but as an essential part of their duty to God, and a debt of strict justice to their Master, which they are bound to discharge with the utmost fidelity, under pain of incurring the displeasure of their heavenly Master and Sovereign Judge.

Yes: experience, daily experience, in the practice of other Powers, is abundantly sufficient to shew,

shew, that it is the Master's real interest, as it is his indispensable duty, to use every exertion in his power to initiate his Slaves into the Covenant of Salvation; and to instil into their tender minds such principles of duty to God, as their Creator, their Redeemer, and their Judge; such sentiments of fidelity and submission to his commands, and of Christian subordination to their temporal superiors, as will necessarily actuate the principle of their conduct in every part of that service which is required of them, and which, from a principle of religion and conscience, they will both faithfully and cheerfully discharge to the superior interest of the Master.

XIII. THE palpable evidence of this train of religious arguments, evincing the necessity of Masters providing for the eternal welfare of their Slaves, will appear in a stronger light by reflecting a little on the nature of that indispensable obligation incumbent on every Master to provide for their temporal support: a second Duty of the strictest justice, which every Slave has a natural right to expect and demand from his lawful Master.

Every Christian knows, that *the labourer is worthy of his hire or reward* (r), and that to defraud him of it is a crying sin (s). It matters not, whether the Labourer be bond or free, or the hire be explicitly or tacitly stipulated for by contract or otherwise: these are circumstances, that can by no means affect either the Labourer's right or the Master's obligation. Labour and Hire (call it pay, keep, wages, reward, &c.) are correlative terms: labour implies a just pay in return, and this is due in

(r) Luke, c. 10. v. 7. 1 Tim. c. 5. v. 18. (s) James, c. 5. v. 4.

in exchange for labour : nor will any accidental distinction of free, hired, or bond servitude, temporary or perpetual, make any difference in the justice of this reciprocal exchange, however it may affect the manner of exchanging the one for the other.—Yes: all Servants, of whatever description they may be, are so justly entitled to an equitable remuneration for their labour, that to withhold it from them, or to defraud them of any part of it, is constantly represented in the Sacred Writings as one of those execrable abominations in the sight of God, that cry aloud for vengeance to the Throne of that righteous Judge, *to whom vengeance belongs.*(a)

XIV. WHAT is so justly, so strictly due to Servants in general, is, on several accounts, more particularly the natural portion and property of Bond-servants or Slaves. Their situation, of all others, has the justest claim to an ample supply of all the necessaries of life. Their health and strength, their whole time and labour, their very wills and liberties are entirely at the discretion of their Masters; all are subservient to the advancement of their interest. Debarred themselves from every pleasure or indulgence, but such as must necessarily depend on the will of a foreign Master, they are the very instruments and means, by which the latter enjoys the pleasures and conveniencies of life, and lives in opulence and plenty. Unable, in fine, to better their condition, even as a subordinate one, by the choice or change of a Master, or of an easier servitude, they are obliged to serve, and serve for life, such as they may never like; and yet such, as they can never quit, without exposing themselves to the
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(a) Deut. c. 32. v. 35. Rom. c. 12. v. 19. Heb. c. 10. v. 30.

utmost risk of rendering their servitude more unhappy, or hazarding their very existence.—These, I am confident, are titles of that pressing nature, inherent to the condition of Slaves, as must convince every Master, who has the least sense or sentiment of justice, that Slaves, of all others, have the strongest claim to an ample, or even a generous, supply of such necessaries, I had almost said *Conveniencies*, of life, as their labour enables him to dispense.

XV. It was undoubtedly on the strength of these or the like most unquestionable titles, that St. Paul so earnestly exhorted the Colossian Masters of Slaves (for no other description of domestic Servants appears to have existed in Phrygia in the Apostle's time) to the strictest return of commutative justice. *Masters*, says he, *give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven* (b). Where it is evident, that the returns, which the Colossian Masters were then bound in conscience to make to their Slaves, and consequently those, which all Christians, in the same capacity, are equally bound to dispense to theirs, ought to bear a conscientious proportion of *justice* and *equality* to the services they receive from them, and to the circumstances of their absolute dependance on those they serve.—Yes, says the Apostle: Masters are to give to their Slaves that which is both *just* and *equal*; for they are entitled, in common with other Servants, to a *just* remuneration for their labour, and have besides other titles, peculiar to their condition, which claim a further retribution from their Masters, *equal* indeed, in a conscientious proportion, both to the fruits of that permanent service, which
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(b) Colos. c. 4. v. 1.

the Masters can at any time command, and to that state of absolute subjection to their wills, which must render that service especially painful to the Slave.

XVI. THE reason for exhorting Masters to this *just* and *equal* retribution is very powerful : *Masters*, says the Apostle, *give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.* This consideration, that there is a Supreme Master in heaven, with whom, as he had declared in the preceding Verse, *there is no respect of persons* (c), is here introduced by St. Paul as an argument of the greatest weight to enforce this part of the Master's duty to his Slaves. In effect, it implies three very serious and interesting truths.—1st. If Masters have also a Master in heaven, it follows necessarily, that the same is also Master of their Slaves; and consequently, that their authority over them is but a delegated, a commissioned, authority, for the use or abuse of which they are ultimately responsible to Him. 2d. If Masters have also a Master in heaven, they must never expect to be paid by him in any other proportion, than that in which they repay to their Slaves *that which is just and equal* (d), and is by so many titles due to them. In fine : if Masters have also a Master in heaven, the more they defraud their Slaves of *that which is just and equal*, or the greater their injustice is in withholding it from them, the louder will be the cry of their iniquity, and the greater of course the severity of his justice in the punishment of it : for, if giving to the Poor, not as the price of labour, but through mere pity, be *lending to the Lord* (e); defrauding them of what the Lord has given them, or ordered

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to

(c) Colos. c. 3. v. 25. (d) Ezek. c. 22. v. 31. (e) Prov. c. 19. v. 17.

to be given them as a *just* and *equal* retribution for their labour or service, must be robbing the Lord himself, must be a sacrilegious robbery ; a circumstance of that aggravating nature, as must always enhance the punishment in the same proportion as it does the guilt.

XVII. WHAT the proportion may be of that justice and equality, with which Masters are to provide for the temporal support and comfort of their Slaves, is a point so variously depending on the combination of so many different circumstances attending their respective spheres of life, not only as Masters and Slaves with reference to each other, but as Masters and Slaves with reference to others in their respective stations, that it would be impossible, I believe, to ascertain the limits of it by any other general rule, applicable to all cases, but that very extensive standard-rule of all reciprocal duties between man and man, which the Son of God has laid down for our direction, of DOING UNTO OTHERS, AS WE WOULD BE DONE UNTO. (f). A Master, who will measure the extent of his duty to his Slaves by the length of this GOLDEN RULE, will always dispense to them that measure and proportion of the necessaries, and even conveniencies, of life, as will be rather above than below that exact *justice* and *equality*, to which they are entitled by the permanent nature of their labour and service ; because, he will do unto them, as a Master, as he would wish to be done unto, were he their Slave, and they his Masters. The reason is so conclusive, and the rule itself so very plain and simple, that it neither requires a further application, nor does it stand in need

need of any comment to direct any one in the use of it.

XVIII. But difficult, or impossible, as it may be to determine by any other general Rule the exact proportion of that justice and equality, with which Masters are bound in conscience to provide for the temporal welfare of their Slaves; yet, it may not be improper, perhaps, to call back their attention to that remarkable instance of temporal provision, which, as related in the FIRST SECTION of these Researches, distinguished the generous conduct of Joseph in the treatment of a whole Nation of Slaves:

Behold, said he to the Egyptians, I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh: lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones. The very proposal of this ample provision did so please the new-bought Slaves, and they were so well satisfied with the retribution offered to them for their future labours, that they answered Joseph in a transport of acknowledgement, *Thou hast saved our lives; let us find grace in the sight of my Lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants.* The prudent and righteous Joseph, finding the proportion of his provision so very satisfactory to Pharaoh's new Slaves, would see the same secured to them against any future innovations, that might take place after him; and immediately *made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh and his successors should have the*

the fifth part, and the new Slaves and their posterity the four-fifths of the yearly produce of the land(g).

I mention this noble and generous instance of Joseph's ample provision for the temporal welfare of a whole Nation of Slaves, not as if I meant to fix the Masters proportion by the example of his conduct; but that I may stimulate them to as near an imitation of it, as their respective circumstances will bear. For, if Christian Masters of Slaves are so ready to appeal to the example of that holy Patriarch in vindication of purchasing Slaves, as authorised by God himself in the very Law of Nature, ought they not to be equally ready to sanctify that practice, as he did, by affording those they purchase that *just* and *equal* proportion of temporal support and comforts, as they are able to dispense?

XIX. FROM the nature of this indispensable obligation of Masters to provide with the utmost justice and equity for the temporal support of their Slaves, it will now, as hinted before, be very easy to conclude, how much more indispensable, strict, and sacred their duty must be to provide for their eternal welfare. The parallel is such, as will hardly bear the least proportion: the indispensability of the latter must necessarily increase with reference to that of the former, in the same exact proportion, as eternal never ending bliss exceeds in worth the most complete transitory state of temporal felicity possible or imaginable.

XX. I HAVE dwelt the longer on the two great relative duties of justice, which Masters owe to their Slaves, because, the beneficent and extensive nature of their benign influence over the conduct of
Masters

Masters once established, the bare mention of those of Humanity will almost be sufficient to enforce the practice of them; for, in reality, they are but so many branches of real Justice. Accordingly, a just Master, who regulates his conduct by the principles of Justice now explained, will be a humane Master to his Slaves; and in proportion as he deviates from the principles of Justice, he will be deficient in those of Humanity.—Let us exemplify this assertion in the two duties of Humanity, *Moderation in work*, and *Temper in correction*.

A conscientious Master, convinced that he owes to his Slaves a debt of the strictest justice with respect to religious and temporal provision in the full extent of the word, is resolved to regulate his conduct according to the strictest principles of Equity in both these respects: he must therefore be religiously moderate in the work he exacts from his Slaves; and he must so temperate correction, when he inflicts it, as not to exceed the bounds of condign chastisement: the least excess contrary to either or both these duties of Humanity, will be a manifest infraction of those of Justice, by which he is directed not to demand of them more than they are able and obliged to give, and *to give unto them that which is equal and just*, whether as a reward, task, or correction.

XXI. EVIDENT as it appears, that, the duties of justice once established, those of humanity need no further argument to enforce their practice; it may not be improper, perhaps, to produce a few scriptural directions respecting that *Moderation* and *Temper*, both in *Work* and *Correction*, which, by every principle of religion, Masters are bound to shew to their Slaves.

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With respect to the former, it is very remarkable, that the very first scriptural direction that occurs, constitutes an essential part of one of the Commandments of the First Table.—*Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy*, said the Almighty to his people ; *six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work ; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God : in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates* (b).---Whether this Commandment was in force prior to the promulgation of the Mosaic Law, as some have concluded from the intimation of the first word, or not ; it is most certain, that the same, being ratified by the Son of God in the New Law, is now as obligatory to Christians; allowing for the change of the day, as it was under the Mosaic Dispensation. Masters then, who are subject to the Christian Law, are under the strictest obligation not to employ their Slaves in any kind of servile work on the Sabbath-day, it being a day, which both the Christian Master and the Slave are equally commanded to keep holy, by employing it in no other service, but that of their common Master and Creator, whose day it is, and not the Master's : *for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day : wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath-day and hallowed it* (i), commanding, that every return of it should be wholly consecrated to him and to his service, both by the Master and the Servant, whether bond or free.

The practice then, so generally prevailing, of reducing Slaves to the necessity of working on the Lord's

(b) Exod. c. 20. vv. 8--11.

(i) Exod. c. 20. v. 11.

Lord's day, by depriving them of all leisure to attend to their own concerns on any other day of the week, must be chargeable to the Masters consciences, as an act of manifest oppression and inhumanity, and a criminal violation of one of the principal precepts of the New Law.—Neither can it be urged in justification of this unchristian practice, that Slaves, not being, in the present system of Slavery, initiated into the Christian Church, are personally exempt from all obligation of sanctifying a day, which none but Christians are commanded *to keep holy*. First, because their being in that unsafe state of exemption is entirely owing to their Masters inexcusable neglect, condemned, as proved before, by every principle of Religion and Justice: and Secondly, because the very letter of the Commandment does expressly prohibit Masters, not only to work themselves in person, but to suffer any one of their Servants to work on the Sabbath-day.

XXII. BUT one returning day of rest after six consecutive ones of unremitted toil and labour, will never satisfy the just demands of Humanity on Christian Masters, if the daily task they impose on their Slaves be immoderate either in duration or fatigue. When the task is immoderate, it becomes oppressive; and oppression is but another word for cruelty, than which very few crimes are represented in the Sacred Page in colours of a more hideous and hateful complexion to the eyes of the Deity.—That the greatest moderation and humanity ought to preside over the daily labours of Bond-servants, appears evident from that humane ordinance of the Almighty to his People, by which he fixed the very
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limits of that daily service, which they had a right, as Masters, to demand from their own brethren, when reduced to the condition of Slaves. *If thy brother that dwelleth by thee, said the divine Ordinance, be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant; but as an hired servant, and as a Sojourner, he shall be with thee.—Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but shalt fear thy God (k).* And, lest they should conclude from the words this Ordinance, that the prohibition of ruling over their Slaves with rigour, extended no farther than those of their own Race and Family, he enacted another Law, prior to that ordinance, by which they were commanded to treat those very Strangers among them, of whom they were allowed to make perpetual and hereditary Slaves (l), with the greatest tenderness, and affection: *If a Stranger, said the Law, sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him; but the Stranger, that dwelleth with you, shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself (m).*

XXIII. THESE written injunctions of the Word of God to his Chosen People, so congenial with the true spirit of the Gospel of Christ, which in every page of the New Testament breathes the same friendly spirit of moderation, compassion, and lenity to our inferiors, are sufficient to shew, that the same Divine Authority, which, for reasons impenetrable to us, though still of the utmost fitness in the inscrutable order of his Providence, thought proper to establish in the World the state or condition of human Bondage, would yet at the same time preserve the

(k) Levit. c. 25. vv. 39, 40, 43. (l) Ibid. vv. 44--46.

(m) Levit. c. 19. vv. 33, 34.

the rights of his Justice inviolable, by commanding in the most explicit terms, that those whom he con- signed to that condition should be treated by their Masters, not as irrational creatures or beasts of bur- then, but as brethren and neighbours, equally en- titled with other Servants, or, indeed, with their own Masters, to all the rights and offices of Hu- manity.

Neither can the obligation of these divine injunc- tions, were they unsupported by any declarations of the Gospel, be evacuated or eluded, by restraining them to the professors of the Mosaic Law. These, no doubt, had injunctions exclusively peculiar to themselves, which related to the typical and ri- tual part of their Religion and Polity; but injunc- tions, enforcing the observance of such moral duties, as constitute the very spirit and frame of true Reli- gion in general, were not peculiar to them as a se- parate People; they were the injunctions, the dic- tates of Natural Religion, and will be of perpetual obligation to the end of time. Such were the above injunctions.---The duties of Humanity to our fellow-creatures in bondage, directing the pro- portion of their daily labours according to the mea- sure of their strength, with a sympathizing regard to their necessary rest and comfort, have been equally obligatory in every stage of true Religion; because Humanity to our fellow-creatures has been in every stage an essential part of true Religion.

XXIV. FROM the general principle of this Duty, it is almost needless to conclude, that Slaves dis- abled by infirmity, and Slaves newly imported into the Colonies, have the justest claim on their Mas- ters to the greatest moderation and indulgence in
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this respect. The former, because having lost their health in their Masters service, have an undoubted right of the strictest justice to demand of their humanity whatever may contribute to their recovery, and sooth the bed of sickness with every necessary comfort: the latter, because not being yet inured, or, as it is commonly termed, *seasoned*, to the temperature of a new climate, , are, after a long confinement, and the unavoidable inconveniencies attending the middle passage, in a state of natural debility, unable to undergo for a time the fatigues of a laborious life, to which they were never used in their native Land: and both, because being in a state of perfect orphanage, unable to derive the least assistance, relief, or comfort, from their nearest friends and relations, have none to look up to for the necessary succours of Humanity, but those very persons, whom Providence has appointed to them Fathers, Guardians, and Protectors, under the title or appellation of Masters, and who can never refuse to them such indispensable offices of humanity, without renouncing every claim to that *Pure Religion and undefiled before God and the Father, which is to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction* (n), by administering to them every necessary comfort and assistance.

XXV. But to complete the christian character of an humane Master, embracing every part of his duty as a Father, Guardian, and Protector to his Slaves, there is another branch still of christian Humanity, which can never be dispensed with, and is of the strictest obligation in conscience.---Humanity must always guide the Master's hand in that
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(n) James, c. 1. v. 27.

most irksome part of his duty, *Corporal Correction*; in other words; the greatest moderation and temper ought always to accompany every act of just and necessary correction in the Master, when reduced to the last extremity of inflicting corporal punishment on his Slaves. To afflict them, either beyond the limits of condign chastisement, or merely to assert authority by the gratification of cruelty, is, in the first instance, an act of unjustifiable barbarity; in the second, an act of diabolical unnaturalness; and in both, a sacrilegious prophanation of that sacred delegated power, which the Almighty has deposited in the Masters hands under the restrictions of the strictest justice and humanity, and the inevitable certainty of becoming themselves the victims of his wrath, if unfaithful to their trust.

XXVI. WERE it necessary to prove from the declarations of the Word of God, that to temperate just and necessary correction by the soothing directions of Humanity, is an essential duty of every Master of Slaves, it would be extremely easy to adduce the strongest evidences in confirmation of so plain a doctrine: but, as the several instances of Divine vindictive Justice, which will be mentioned in the latter part of this Section, will all concur to enforce the practice of it, I shall now point out, merely for method's sake, one or two Scriptural passages that have an immediate reference to so important a part of the Master's duty to his Slaves.

XXVII. FEW Scriptural declarations, I believe, will shew in a stronger light, how contrary to every principle of Justice, Religion, and Humanity, is the Master's severity to his Slave, and how very contracted is the delegated power of the former to
correct

correct the latter, than that penal Law enacted by Divine Authority in the Mosaic Code in favour of Slaves maltreated by their Masters. *If a man, says the Law, speaking of Masters of Slaves, smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. And again: If he smite out his man-servant's tooth, or his maid-servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake (o).*—From the spirit and letter of this humane Ordinance, I am naturally led to deduce the following consequences; such, indeed, as I cannot sufficiently recommend to the consideration of Masters.

1. Inconsiderable as the above injuries offered to a Slave may appear to an unfeeling Master; they are yet of that heinous nature in the sight of Him, who seeth not with the eyes of man, and whose punishments never exceed the measure of the offence, that, in strictness of justice, the satisfaction due from the Master to the Slave for the injury received by the latter, seems to be the absolute forfeit of his acquired dominion over him.

2. Exempt as Christian Masters may think themselves from the temporal penalty of the above Law; yet, as the crime of maltreating a Slave cannot be less odious in the sight of God when committed by Christians, than when committed by an Hebrew liable to that penalty, their flattering exemption from legal penalty will never extenuate the inhumanity of a crime, which must inevitably be recompensed upon their heads, either in this world, or in the world to come.

3. If

3. If smiting out a Bond-servant's tooth (an injury apparently so venial) implies so much guilt in the sight of God, as to deserve a punishment seemingly so severe; every other excess of greater inhumanity in the corporal correction of a Slave, must necessarily rise in guilt and punishment in the same exact proportion as does the criminality of that excess.

4. Since the Almighty, notwithstanding his positive approbation of the Slave-Trade, would yet so provide against every intemperate exertion of arbitrary power in his People in the punishment of their Slaves, as to declare the latter free from bondage the moment the severity of their Masters went so far as to deprive them even of an eye or a tooth; every humane and well-regulated Government ought so to provide for the safety and welfare of its Slaves, as to restrain by the severest penalties every attempt of their Masters to treat them with unbecoming rigour and wanton cruelty.

XXVIII. SUFFICIENT as the above Scriptural declaration is to evince the absolute incompatibility of intemperate correction with the principles of Justice, Religion, and Humanity; I cannot close this Subject, without referring every Christian Master to the Apostle's exhortation to humanity, when directing the Ephesian Masters in the treatment of their Slaves.—He first exhorts every bond-servant to the greatest submission, sincerity, and fidelity to their respective Masters; and, after encouraging their temporal services with the certain prospect of an eternal reward, he concludes his exhortation by addressing himself to their Masters in the following
pathetic

pathetic Words: *And ye Masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing, that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him (p)*: intimating to them in this solemn manner, that the gentle Spirit of the Gospel they professed, was utterly averse, not only to every act of rigorous and oppressive treatment of those in bondage, as was the Law of Moses, but even to the least symptom of it, such as *an angry threat*, which no Christian Master could use with impunity to his Slave; it being a manifest abuse of that parental authority with which he is intrusted by his heavenly Master, *with whom there is no respect of persons, and who will render to every man according to his deeds (q)*, whether he be bond or free.

Some EXEMPLARY PUNISHMENTS inflicted on unnatural Masters by Divine vindictive Justice.

XXIX. IT being evident from the tenour of the preceding part of this Section, that every act of injustice and inhumanity in the treatment of Slaves partakes of the nature of that crying sin, called in Scripture-language *Oppression of the Poor*; no wonder, if, there being so many woes denounced against it in the Sacred Oracles of the Word of God, we sometimes find them realized in the effectual punishment of some unnatural Masters of Slaves. The two following instances of God's vindictive Justice, registered

(p) Ephes. c 6. vv. 5--10.

(q) Rom. c. 2. v. 6.

registered in the Sacred Records, will, I trust, be sufficient to deter every Conductor and Master of Slaves, who has any remains of religion in his heart, from ever becoming, by any acts of violence and oppression, the unhappy victims of God's indignation and wrath.

XXX. THE first judicial instance of this kind recorded in the Sacred Annals, is that disastrous desolation of the whole Kingdom of Egypt, which accompanied the miraculous deliverance of the Children of Israel out of the hands of the hard-hearted Pharaoh. The story being so well known by the generality of my Readers, it would be needless for me to enumerate in this place the several unheard of plagues and calamities, that the Omnipotent, in his wrath, poured out against that fertile land and its numerous inhabitants, prior to the total overthrow of their Sovereign and his numerous Host: it is sufficient to say, that the description given in the Book of Exodus of that memorable catastrophe (*r*), represents every part of the creation concurring to execute the judgements of an angry God, and to transform one of the most populous, flourishing, and fertile countries in the Universe, into a continued scene of misery, desolation, and distress, unequalled, since Noah's Flood, in the Annals of the World.

And what could be the crime, that did so incense the Almighty against the Land and the Inhabitants of Egypt? We have the answer to this important question in the Almighty's own words, which he spoke to Moses prior to the execution of his Justice.

O

" I have

(*r*) Exod. cc. 7--16.

—“ I have surely seen, *said He*, the affliction of
 “ my people which are in Egypt, and have heard
 “ their cry, by reason of their task-masters: for I
 “ know their sorrows (*s*). Now therefore, behold
 “ the cry of the Children of Israel is come unto
 “ me; and I have also seen the oppression where-
 “ with the Egyptians oppress them (*t*). I have
 “ surely visited you, and seen that which is done to
 “ you in Egypt (*u*). And I will stretch out my
 “ hand, and smite Egypt with all my wonders,
 “ which I will do in the midst thereof (*v*). And
 “ I have also heard the groaning of the Children of
 “ Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage (*w*).
 “ And I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm,
 “ and with great judgements (*x*). And I will mul-
 “ tiply my signs and my wonders in the Land of
 “ Egypt” (*y*).

XXXI. IN all these several declarations there is no other reason assigned by the Almighty for punishing the Egyptians, but the oppressive treatment of the Israelites their Slaves: but it is necessary to observe, that this oppression was doubly criminal in them, because they kept the Israelites in bondage, contrary to the sacred rights of Hospitality, which they had formerly enjoyed. The Children of Israel, when first settled in Egypt, were free and independent people: they had been invited by a former King to settle in that Country, and enjoy the privileges of free Subjects (*a*): their slavery therefore was unjust and oppressive in the highest degree.—
 “ There arose up, *says the Sacred Penman*, a new
 “ King over Egypt, which knew not Joseph. And
 “ he

(*s*) Exod. c. 3. v. 7. (*t*) Ibid. v. 9. (*u*) Ibid. v. 16. (*v*) Ibid. v. 20.

(*w*) Exod. c. 6. v. 5. (*x*) Ibid. v. 6. (*y*) Exod. c. 7. v. 3.

(*a*) Gen. c. 45. vv. 17--22. c. 47. vv. 1--7.

“ he said unto his people; Behold, the people of
 “ the Children of Israel are more, and mightier
 “ than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them,
 “ lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when
 “ there falleth out any war, they join also unto our
 “ enemies, and fight against us, and so get them
 “ up out of the Land. Therefore they did set
 “ over them task-masters, to afflict them with their
 “ burthens; and they built for Pharaoh treasure-
 “ cities, Pithom and Raamses. But the more they
 “ afflicted them, the more they multiplied, and
 “ grew; and they were grieved because of the
 “ Children of Israel. And the Egyptians made
 “ the Children of Israel to serve with rigour. And
 “ they made their lives bitter with hard bondage,
 “ in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of
 “ service in the field: all their service wherein they
 “ made them serve, was with rigour” (c).—As,
 from the circumstances of this narrative, the Egyp-
 tians had not the least colourable title to deprive
 the Israelites of their liberty; no wonder, if their
 oppressive treatment of those whom they had so un-
 justly reduced to the condition of Slaves, enhanced
 their unnaturalness to such a pitch of guilt, as could
 not fail bringing down upon them some of the hea-
 vieft scourges of Divine vindictive Justice. --A most
 important lesson this, as well as a most serious warn-
 ing, to all African Merchants and purchasers of
 Slaves, never to attempt, on any consideration what-
 ever, to transport into the Colonies any other des-
 cription of persons, but such as are real Slaves in
 their native Land!

XXXII. A SECOND instance of Divine vindictive Justice, occasioned by undue severity to those in bondage, is that famine of three years continuance, which prevailed without intermission in the days of David, till the injury received by the Slaves was attoned for to their entire satisfaction. The principal circumstances, attending this very serious transaction, are thus described in the XXIst Chapter of the II Book of SAMUEL.

1. Then there was a famine in the days of David, three years, year after year, and David inquired of the Lord. And the Lord answered : it is for Saul, and his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites.

2. And the King called the Gibeonites, and said unto them (now the Gibeonites were not of the Children of Israel, but of the remnant of the Amorites, and the Children of Israel had sworn unto them : and Saul sought to slay them in his zeal to the Children of Israel and Judah),

3. Wherefore David said unto the Gibeonites : what shall I do for you ? and wherewith shall I make the attonement, that ye may bless the inheritance of the Lord ?

4. And the Gibeonites said unto him : We will have no silver nor gold of Saul, nor of his house, neither for us shalt thou kill any man in Israel. And he said, what you shall say, that will I do for you.

5. And they answered the King : the man that consumed us, and that devised against us, that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel,

6. Let

6. Let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul, whom the Lord did chuse. And the King said, I will give them.---

9. And he delivered them into the hands of the Gibeonites, and they hanged them in the hill before the Lord : and they fell all seven together, and were put to death in the days of harvest, in the first days, in the beginning of the barley-harvest.---

14. --- and after that, God was intreated for the land.

XXXIII. WHEN, and upon what occasion, the Gibeonites were thus *consumed* and harrassed by Saul, does not appear from the above Scriptural recital ; but it is evident in the first place, that the Gibeonites were unjustly put to death by Saul for no better reason indeed, than to testify to the Children of Israel and Judah, that his zeal for them was far superior to that of Joshua and the Princes of the Congregation, who, instead of putting the Gibeonites to the sword, as they had done with the rest of the old Inhabitants of the Land of Canaan, contented themselves with reducing them to perpetual bondage. A conduct not altogether unlike that of some unnatural Masters or Superintendents of Slaves, who inflict severities on them, merely to assert prerogative and authority.---It is visible in the second place, that, however despicable the condition of Slaves may appear in the eyes of men ; yet it is a condition so especially cherished and protected by Him, *with whom there is no respect of persons*, that he will never suffer them to be maltreated with impunity, but will retaliate upon their oppressors in the full extent of his justice.---In fine:
from

from the conduct of God exemplified in several places of Holy Writ (*a*), and very particularly in the Case of guilty Saul, in which he extended the punishment of his personal inhumanity to all the Inhabitants of the Land, who suffered the hardships of a triennial famine, it is most evident, that sometimes Divine Justice will not be satisfied with punishing the real offender, but will also extend his judgments, for reasons impenetrable to us, to persons apparently free from any participation in the crime.

XXXIV. THE truth of this last observation being so visibly verified in the actual case of punishing an act of inhumanity to those in bondage, ought to be a strong inducement First to every Master or Proprietor of Slaves, never to indulge the smallest irregularity in this respect, or to screen it in another; and Secondly, to every well regulated Government, so to control by penalties adequate to the offence, every possible exertion of arbitrary power in the Masters, as to avert those public calamities, in which the innocent are often involved with the guilty.

XXXV. THE interesting subject of this Section will, I hope, be a sufficient apology for its apparent prolixity; which, considering the very extensive nature of those sacred duties which are inculcated in it, I could not prevent without manifest injustice to the interests of justice and humanity. Now, the better these interests seem to be secured by the above injunctions of the Word of God, the more palpable must necessarily appear to every dispassionate Reader the truth of the following

GENERAL

(*a*) Joshua, c. 7. II. Samuel, c. 24.

GENERAL COROLLARY.

SINCE nothing can be more certain, consistently with the essential attributes of God, who is JUSTICE and SANCTITY itself, than that He never did, or ever could, give the most distant directions for the prosecution of any human pursuit intrinsically unjust and illicit in its nature ; it follows necessarily, that, since he has given so many positive and explicit directions to those who pursue the Slave-Trade, towards directing their conduct in the prosecution of it by the principles of Justice, Religion, and Humanity, the Trade itself must, on this further account, be intrinsically just and lawful in its nature ; and all such directive injunctions, as are quoted in this Section, and others frequently occurring in the Sacred Writings, relative to the proper treatment of those in bondage, must, of course, be considered, as so many irrefragable arguments of the intrinsic licitness of the SLAVE TRADE.

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A
R E V I E W

OF SOME
SCURRILOUS PAMPHLETS,

LATELY PUBLISHED AGAINST THE
AUTHOR AND DOCTRINE

OF THE
SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES.

AS DECEIVERS, AND YET TRUE. II. CORINTH. C. VI. V. 8,

INTRODUCTION.

I WILL readily yield the palm of victory to my Antagonists in what chiefly constitutes the merit of their respective lucubrations—*misrepresentation* and *personal abuse*: I will not even enter the lists with any of them on such unequal ground. It would be rashness indeed, to engage such veteran scoffers, without being, at least, a graduated MASTER of so *Liberal* an Art. All I shall contend for in the series of this Review, will be to defend the Scriptural Doctrine of my Researches by defeating their vain attempts to subvert it.

THIS Defence, agreeably to my original plan, shall be supported by no other authority but that of the Sacred Writings: and as I am not ambitious of pedantic fame, plain texts in the vulgar tongue will be abundantly sufficient for my purpose: historical, poetical, philosophical passages, and comments of mere human authority, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French unnecessary quotations, and such like tinsel trappings of pedantry, I shall leave to my Antagonists, to cover with this borrowed garb of flimsy learning their visible penury of solid arguments (a).

THE

(a) See---*A Particular Examination of Mr. Harris's Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave-Trade. By Henry Dannett, M. A. Minister of St. John's,*

THE method I mean to follow, will be nearly the same as that which I adopted in the composition of my former tract; though I have reason to apprehend it will not be quite palatable to some of my Opponents: it will be deemed *affected* by the Rev. Mr. Ramsay(*b*), and the Rev. Mr. Hughes will call it *artificial*(*c*): but, as I have not the smallest temptation to pay implicit deference to their opinions, their Reverences must pardon me, if, dissenting from them, I call it *Rational*, and use it, in preference to any other, as being the best adapted for polemical enquiries.

FOLLOWING then this Rational method, I shall prefix a few *Data* to the three subsequent ARTICLES, which will divide the Subject of this Review into as many separate parts, and shall close the whole with a certain number of *Corollaries*.—I shall animadvert in the First Article on some of the grossest imputations that my ingenious Antagonists have first invented, and then charged to the account of my

P 2

Researches.

John's, Liverpool; which, for want of better materials, is replete with such counterfeit substitutes of fair argumentation.

See also---*A Scriptural Refutation of a Pamphlet, lately published by the Rev. Raymund Harris, intitled, Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave-Trade. In four Letters from the Author to a Friend*; which is not quite free from the above infection.---This four and anonymous Pamphlet is the joint-work of an obscure Triumvirate, formed by an unnatural coalition of Law and Gospel; who, under the plausible pretence of defending the natural rights of Reason and Humanity, are sapping the very foundations of Religion and Justice.

(*b*) See---*Examination of the Rev. Mr. Harris's Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave-Trade. By the Rev. James Ramsay. Page 3.*

(*c*) See---*An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Harris's Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave-Trade. By the Rev. W. Hughes, M. A. Page 3.*

Researches. Whatever has the least semblance of argument or objection, will be answered in the Second: and the Reader will see in the Third the insidious tendency of such dangerous tenets and impieties, as are studiously disseminated in their elaborate rhapsodies.

D A T A.

I. THAT, there being many things in the Sacred Writings above the reach of human Reason, though none contrary to it, whoever professes to believe that the Holy Scriptures are the infallible Word of God, must, in all such incomprehensible matters, submit his Reason to the Divine Authority that sanctions them.

II. THAT to write or speak irreverently of any part of the Sacred Volume of the Word of God, or to condemn any particular transaction registered in the Sacred Records, when positively sanctioned and justified by divine Authority, does evidently imply the double guilt of Infidelity and Blasphemy.

III. THAT to abuse any part of the inspired Writings in support of any tenet incompatible with Scripture, by wilfully misconstruing or mutilating the same, is a blasphemous imputation on the eternal veracity of God, essentially incapable of contradicting himself.

IV. THAT some things are forbidden in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God, because intrinsic-
cal:

cally, and in their nature, they are bad and illicit ; and others are declared illicit and bad, merely because they are forbidden.

V. THAT in any controversy whatever, it is an evident indication of a defenceless Cause, to impute to our Opponents what they never advanced, and to conclude from such imputed assertions, what we could not otherwise conclude in favour of our opposite opinion from a fair statement of their doctrine.

VI. THAT, as no private religious opinions, or any other personal circumstances, unconnected with the Subject in debate, can ever lessen the force of our Opponents arguments, or add strength to ours ; so it must be a strong indication of a tottering Cause, as well as a manifest insult to the judgement of the Public, to attempt to throw an odium on our Opponents doctrine, by reflecting on their other principles and personal circumstances with any species of scurrility and personal abuse.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE I.

ANIMADVERSIONS *on several* FALSE IMPUTATIONS *laid to the Charge of the* SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES.

FIRST IMPUTATION.

The Author of the Scriptural Researches throws an opprobrium upon human Reason, and impeaches its authority. It seems, that his design is to vilify and degrade the rights and provinces of Reason and Conscience. The Scriptural Researches are entirely built upon their ruins.

I. So say *verbatim* the supercilious Triumviri, and the bustling Minister of St. John's (a); who, unable to prove this odious allegation by a fair citation of the passage to which they appeal, they have had the *humanity* to amputate it without mercy. — All that the Scriptural Researches have advanced on this head, is, that, “ If the sanction of Divine
“ authority appears *evident* in favour of the Slave-
“ Trade from the testimonies of the Written Word
“ of God, every person, who has any pretensions
“ to Religion, must immediately assent to an Au-
“ thority of that irresistible conviction, however
“ plausible or ingenious the opposite arguments
“ against that Trade may appear, when viewed
“ through the scanty light of mere human Reason
“ and Sense (b). ”

WHERE

(a) Script. Refut. p. 5. Dannett, p. 2, 3, 8. Pref.

(b) Script. Researches, p. 6. 7. Pref.

WHERE is there in these words the least shadow of opprobrium on human Reason, the least impeachment of its authority, or the most distant design to vilify, to degrade, to supersede the rights and provinces of reason and conscience? Do they not expressly suppose, that the sanction of Divine authority in favour of the Trade must be *evident*? And, if *evident*, must not every other argument against it, however plausible or ingenious it may appear to the light of mere human reason and sense, *scanty* indeed, when compared with the light of divine *evidence*, yield immediately to the *evident* sanction of that unerring Authority?—Or will these presumptuous Neoterics oppose the ingenious plausibilities of mere human reason and sense to the contrary *evidence* of Divine Revelation?

SECOND IMPUTATION.

The Author of the Scriptural Researches, by a direct and dreadful imputation on the Sacred Writings, and their Divine Author, throws out the daring accusation, that the Supreme Being is inconsistent with himself, because he did not, under the Christian Dispensation, confirm and confine himself to every moral injunction of the Old Testament.

II. A HEAVY charge indeed! artfully fabricated in the Work-shop of the plodding Triumvirate (c); but, unfortunately for them, destitute of every semblance of truth.—The imputation alludes to that
passage

passage of the Scriptural Researches, which contains the following declaration: "The principles and
 " moral duties of *perpetual obligation* respecting
 " *Right and Wrong, Justice and Injustice*, registered
 " in the Sacred Volume of the New Testament,
 " being evidently dictated by the Holy Spirit of
 " God, and God himself, cannot, consistently with
 " the essential infallibility of his eternal Wisdom,
 " bear the least opposition to the principles and mo-
 " ral duties of *perpetual obligation*, respecting, in
 " like manner, *Right and Wrong, Justice and In-*
 " *justice*, dictated by the same infallible Spirit, and
 " registered in the Sacred Volume of the Old Tes-
 " tament. Were it possible to be otherwise, God
 " would not be consistent with himself, and the
 " Religion of the New Testament, instead of being
 " the perfection and accomplishment, would be the
 " reproach and condemnation, of both the former
 " Laws, Natural and Mosaic, on the truth of
 " which its very existence depends (*d*).

A person must be blind indeed, not to see, that this orthodox declaration is evidently confined to such principles and duties respecting *Right and Wrong*, as are of *perpetual obligation* in both the Testaments, and does not extend, as the Imputation would have it, to every moral injunction of the Old Testament, whether of perpetual or mere temporary or local obligation. The meaning of the above declaration is so very obvious to the dullest comprehension, that, even the Minister of St. John's is forced to own, that To §. II, in which is contained the preceding passage, *there can be no*

no objection, if the Author means (as he appears to mean), that the Gospel cannot contradict the moral precepts of eternal obligation, laid down in the Old Testament (e).

THIRD IMPUTATION.

The Author of the Scriptural Researches speaks of the Liverpool Slave-Trade having the sanction of being encouraged, almost commanded, and even enjoined to be prosecuted, by the Supreme Legislator.

III. THE Canonical Planter, whose favourite accusation this is, has enriched on the invention of his worthy Confreres by frequently referring the Reader to some imaginary Page of the Scriptural Researches, where he may find this, as well as other inventions of his fertile brain (f). I say, *Imaginary*; because the pages referred to by the Rev. Planter to justify this groundless imputation, contain nothing analogous to the charge.---The words in the Scriptural Researches, as far as the charge extends, are literally these: "I have every encouragement given me in this Sacred Book of LEVITICUS to advance a step farther, and maintain, that the Slave-Trade has not only the sanction of Divine Authority in its support, but was also positively encouraged (I had almost said, commanded) by that Authority *under the Dispensation of the Mosaic Law*. The following plain and explicit words of one of the laws respecting that

P

" Trade,

(e) Dannett, p: 88.

(f) Ramsay, p. 23. 16. 27. 13.

" Trade, and registered in this Book, can admit of
 " no other construction. *Both thy bond-men and*
 " *bond-maids*, says the Supreme Law-giver, *which*
 " *thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are*
 " *round about you ; of them shall ye buy bond men and*
 " *bond-maids. Moreover, of the Children of the*
 " *Strangers that do sojourn among you ; of them shall*
 " *ye buy ; &c*—If there be meaning in language, or
 " sense in words, here is certainly a law enacted by
 " Divine Authority, which does not only give a
 " most positive and unexceptionable sanction to the
 " licitness of the Slave-Trade, but *seems* farther to
 " lay, *as it were*, an injunction *on the Children of*
 " *Israel* to prosecute that Traffic under no other
 " restriction whatever, but that of confining their
 " purchases of perpetual Slaves to the heathen
 " round about them, and the Strangers that so-
 " journed among them ; for the words of the Law-
 " giver evidently imply more than a mere per-
 " mission or leave : He does not say, speaking of
 " the Heathen and Sojourners, *Of them MAY ye buy*
 " *bond-men and bond-maids*, but *Of them SHALL ye*
 " *buy bond-men and bond-maids*"(g).

A man must have an uncommon share of effron-
 tery to assure his Reader, on the strength of this
 passage, that the Author of the Scriptural Re-
 searches *speaks in it of the Liverpool Slave-trade*
having the sanction of being encouraged, almost com-
manded, and even enjoined to be prosecuted by the Su-
preme Legislator ! when the whole passage is expressly
 restrained to the Slave-Trade *under the Dispensation*
of the Mosaic Law, and the seeming injunction or
 command to prosecute it (for so are the words mo-
 dified

dified in the passage) is said to have been laid *on the Children of Israel*, the professors of that Law, under a certain restriction. The Scriptural Researches have hinted no where any such *seeming* injunction or command in any other Dispensation. They were intended to prove, and, for what has hitherto appeared against them, they have effectually proved, that the Slave-Trade, prescinding from every other real or possible abuse in the prosecution of it, which is the part of the Legislature to check and prevent, whether carried on by Liverpool or any other Place in Christendom, is intrinsically just and licit in its nature, and has the sanction of Divine Authority in its support.

FOURTH. IMPUTATION.

On the supposition of the iniquity of the Liverpool Slave-Trade, the Author of the Scriptural Researches speaks of the Almighty disturbing the course of Nature, when the Sun stood still at Joshua's command to make it subservient to injustice and oppression, in vindication of ill-gotten property.

IV. THE mean spirit of local spite, that runs through the whole of Mr. Ramsay's incoherent Piece, and the rancorous vehemence of this very groundless charge, which he would fain impose on his Readers by citing, as a voucher, an imaginary Page of the Scriptural Researches (b), betray in this doubtful Advocate for African Liberty, a consciousness

sciousness of his utter inability to justify the conduct of those, *who*, to use his own expressions, *have hitherto suffered themselves to be reluctantly dragged along by the present prevailing enthusiasm in favour of freedom (i)*, without having recourse to his favourite common place of argument, *Misrepresentation and Calumny*.—The above Imputation bears evidence to the truth of this assertion. The Reader shall judge for himself from the passage of the Scriptural Researches appealed to by Mr. Ramsay in justification of his charge.

V. AFTER a circumstantial detail of the particulars that attended Joshua's reduction of the Gibeonites to perpetual and hereditary bondage, and enforcing the undoubted assurances of God's approbation of his conduct, by securing to his People the possession of their Slaves with a signal victory, which he enabled them to obtain over five Kings of the Amorites, who made a vigorous attempt against them, by fighting himself in Person, and causing the Sun to stand still, *until the people had avenged themselves of their enemies*, for attempting to destroy the Gibeonites, their Slaves, the Scriptural Researches conclude thus with the passage referred to by Mr. Ramsay:—"If these wonderful achievements of the power of God in favour of his Chosen People in the very case of protecting the Persons whom they had so lately reduced to perpetual and hereditary bondage, are not to be considered as so many evident testimonies of his divine approbation of the immediate object of the Slave-Trade, and a positive sanction to the licitness of it, but are still consistent with any intrinsic

(i) Ramsay, p. 3.

“ intrinsic moral turpitude inherent to the nature of
 “ that Trade ; the abettors of this opinion must
 “ necessarily maintain, that the Supreme Ruler of
 “ the Universe, in direct opposition to his own es-
 “ sential attributes and perfections, in manifest con-
 “ tradiction with his own moral laws and command-
 “ ments, and in vindication of ill-gotten property,
 “ displayed to the World the most extraordinary
 “ exertions of his Omnipotence, and disturbed the
 “ very course of nature, to make it subservient to
 “ the vilest of purposes, injustice and oppression. As
 “ this inference is as blasphemous as it is necessary,
 “ the very mentioning of it will, I flatter myself,
 “ be sufficient to determine the judgement of any
 “ religious and candid Reader in favour of the in-
 “ herent moral licitness of the Slave-Trade (k).—
 Let any candid Reader compare this passage with
 the above imputation, and the comparison will con-
 vince him, that Mr. Ramsay’s insincerity is almost
 past belief, and, probably, past recovery.

FIFTH IMPUTATION.

The Author of the Scriptural Researches dishonours his Maker, by affirming, that the Almighty God has not only given his sanction to the Slave-Trade, but also to that cruelty and oppression which too generally attend it.

VI. It would have been incomparably more to the credit of Mr. Hughes, than it happens to be,
 if

(k) Script. Researches, p. 44, 45.

if this very pious and confident accusation had as much of candour on its side, as it has of deliberate imposition and solemn cant⁽¹⁾. Had he barely asserted it, without appealing to the Scriptural Researches for a decisive proof, as is frequently practised by his wiser Confreres, he might probably have imposed on some of his Readers, who would not have hesitated to credit the information of a Person, who styles himself a Minister of Truth : but his very imprudent and *partial* quotation, when compared with the Original of the Scriptural Researches, will, and must convict him, in the opinion of his most partial Readers, of downright deliberate misrepresentation and falshood.

-VII. FROM the circumstances of Hagar's Flight, occasioned by Sarai's *dealing hardly with her*, and the Divine Messenger's exprefs command to the fugitive Slave *to return to her Mistress and Submit herself under her hands*, notwithstanding her former severity, the Scriptural Researches draw a very forcible argument in favour of the intrinsic licitness of the Slave-Trade, as being evidently warranted by the Written Word of God ; and then, from the sentence of the Supreme Judge of *Right and Wrong*, condemning the conduct of Hagar, though severely treated by Sarai, they conclude, " That the Slave-Trade, even when attended with circumstances not altogether conformable to the feelings of humanity, is essentially consistent with the sacred and inalienable rights of justice, and has the positive sanction of God in its support ;" (*here stops the candid Mr. Hughes, but the Scriptural Researches continue the period without the least interruption*) " however
" dis-

(1) Hughes, p. 14.

“ displeasing those circumstances may be to his Fatherly Providence, as they appear to have been in the Case of Hagar ; who, in alleviation of her sufferings and affliction, was promised the honour of being the Mother of a numerous progeny, branched out afterwards into twelve powerful kingdoms,” (m).— Nothing but the most settled design to deceive his Reader could ever have induced Mr. Hughes to represent the Author of the Scriptural Researches affirming, *that the Almighty God has not only given his sanction to the Slave-Trade, but also to that cruelty and oppression which too generally attend it ;* when in the very words, he has so maliciously suppressed, he finds him declaring in the most unequivocal terms, that such attending circumstances, instead of meeting the approbation of God, are especially *displeasing to his fatherly providence, as they appear to have been in the Case of Hagar,* from the subsequent circumstance mentioned in the passage as *an alleviation of her sufferings and affliction.*

SIXTH IMPUTATION.

The Author of the Scriptural Researches concludes the licitness of the Slave-Trade from several instances of that Traffic, registered in the Sacred Books, not being expressly condemned by any of the Inspired Writers.

VIII. THE whole weight of two-thirds, at least, of my Opponents arguments rests on the supposition
of

of this pretended fact; which, however confidently advanced, and made even the subject of dry, insipid, and prophane pleasantries, by my *very religious* and *very facetious* Antagonists, is yet by no means deducible from any part of the Scriptural Researches. --- There is not one Scriptural Instance of the Slave-Trade to be met with in the Scriptural Researches, the licitness of which rests solely on the bare ground of mere *negative* Divine approbation. The *negative* approbation of the Written Word of God, respecting the conduct of ABRAHAM, JOSEPH, and JOSHUA, the only three Instances of the kind, where the silence of the Inspired Writers is adduced as a strong presumption in favour of the rectitude of their proceedings, is so far from being alledged as an absolute proof by itself of the undoubted rectitude of their conduct, that, in every particular instance, it is immediately followed by a train of *positive* Scriptural arguments, evincing the positive sanction of the Word of God, and thereby confirming in a decisive manner the presumption which was in their favour from the silence of the Inspired Writers, not condemning their conduct by any direct or distant intimation of God's displeasure. --- This *positive* sanction, grounded on *positive* decisions and authorities of the Written Word of God, is what the Scriptural Researches constantly insist upon; and it is from the irrefragable evidence of such *positive* sanctions, established in the VIIth DATUM, that they conclude the inherent intrinsic licitness of the Slave-Trade.

IX. NEITHER can it be urged in justification of the above Imputation, that the Scriptural Researches attempt to prove the licitness of the Slave-Trade in
the

the New Law by the *negative* argument of the uniform silence of the New Testament against the illicitness of it (*n*).---The Scriptural Researches in the place alluded to, oppose the *real* silence of the Inspired Writers of the New Testament respecting the illicitness of the Slave-Trade, to the *supposed* silence of the same respecting the licitness of it, which the enemies to that Trade have so confidently advanced, and as confidently concluded from it, that, there being nothing in the New Testament, that can be produced in justification of the Trade, the Professors of Christianity are not justifiable in the prosecution of it.—It is to invalidate the force of this *negative* argument, founded on a *false supposition*, that the Scriptural Researches urge the argument alluded to; which, from the same *negative* principle, not of *supposed*, but *real*, silence respecting the pretended illicitness of the Slave-Trade, proves with greater force, that it bears no opposition whatever to the principles of the Christian Law.---But so far are the Scriptural Researches from resting the licitness of the Slave-Trade, with reference to Christians, on the evidence of mere *negative* arguments, that even the preceding *negative* inference becomes at last, from collateral circumstances, a stubborn *positive* argument in favour of that Trade (*o*); and is further strengthened by such *positive* declarations of the Written Word of God, as have hitherto baffled every attempt of my Antagonists to wrest their obvious meaning and authority.

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SEVENTH

(*n*) Script. Researches, p. 52--56

(*o*) Script. Researches, p. 56.

SEVENTH IMPUTATION.

The Author of the Scriptural Researches concludes the licitness of the Slave-Trade under the Christian Dispensation, from the same being permitted to the Professors of both the former Laws, Natural and Mosaic.

X. WHOEVER has had the patience to peruse the pamphlets of my Opponents, cannot but agree with me, that the bulk of their objections to the Doctrine of the Scriptural Researches rests entirely on the supposition of this and the next preceding Imputation: and yet it is most evident, that there is as little room in the Scriptural Researches to justify that supposition in one instance, as there is to justify it in the other. If this groundless and fundamental supposition of theirs has no better source than a premeditated design to impose on the judgement of the Public, they ought, upon conviction, to be treated as impostors; but, if it be the effect of ignorance, or want of sufficient penetration, which I am charitably inclined to believe may be the case, they are certainly entitled to commiseration and pity: and, in either case, they should, if possible, be made sensible of their error. The following eclairecissement will, I hope, have this effect on such of their Readers, as may have inadvertently fallen into the snare.

XI. IT is unquestionably true, that several things, not only of typical but moral tendency, were permitted and even commanded in the Old Law, which are no longer so under the Christian Dispensation, but are even forbidden to the Professors of the Gospel: and therefore, to conclude from such permission

mission or injunction, that whatever was once permitted or enjoined to the Professors of the Natural and Mosaic Laws, is equally permitted or enjoined to Christians, would be an absurd, an impious inference, diametrically opposite to the principles of Christianity. But it is equally unquestionable from the constant tenour of the Sacred Writings, that there were several things, some commanded, and others simply lawful, without any positive injunction, to the Professors of both the former Laws, which are equally commanded and equally lawful to the Professors of the Gospel; not merely because they were commanded or were permitted to the former, but because the things themselves were intrinsically and in their nature just and lawful, and have been either confirmed a-new, or never abrogated by the Christian Law.

XII. THIS very fundamental distinction, which, however visible in the series of the Scriptural Researches, has been confounded or overlooked by every one of my Opponents, either through ignorance or design, will enable every candid Reader to see the manifest injustice of the above Imputation.---It is true, the Scriptural Researches conclude the *intrinsic* licitness of the Slave-Trade, or that it is essentially just in its nature, from the same being practised by Abraham, Joseph, and the Children of Israel, under the positive sanction and approbation of God, attested by many express and positive declarations of his Written Word; but it is utterly false, that they conclude, that the same is *lawful* to Christians, merely because it was *lawful* to them; for, as it is evident from several practices of the Old Law, a

thing may be *intrinsically* licit in its nature, and *lawful* to some persons to practise it, and yet the same may not be *lawful* to others, notwithstanding its *intrinsic* licitness. There is no part of the Scriptural Researches, where any such inference is drawn. They conclude indeed, "That, since neither the Son of God, being himself God, nor his Disciples commissioned to teach his Doctrine, could ever alter the *intrinsic* nature of *Right* and *Wrong*; once the practice of Slavery, or the Slave-Trade, had been expressly declared by the Father essentially just and lawful in the Sacred Writings of the Old Law, which the Son, *did not come to destroy but to fulfil*, it was absolutely impossible, that either He or his Disciples should declare it unlawful and unjust in the Writings of the New, the principles of both the Laws, respecting the *intrinsic* nature of *Right* and *Wrong*, *Justice* and *Injustice*, being invariably the same"(p).---But even from this evident invariableness of the intrinsic licitness of the Slave-Trade, there is no conclusion ever drawn in the Scriptural Researches, that the prosecution of it is therefore lawful to Christians; but only from the prosecution itself not only not having been abrogated, but being expressly confirmed and ratified by the positive sanction of divine authority in the Sacred Records of the New Law(q).

It is from this principle, from which every Christian concludes the present lawfulness of all such other practices as are common to him with the Professors of the Old Law, that the Scriptural Researches conclude also that the prosecution of the Slave-

(p) Script. Researches, p. 55, 56.

(q) Script. Researches, p. 56, &c.

Slave-Trade is now lawful to the Professors of the Gospel.---How extremely different this conclusion is from that which the Imputation imports, and how unjust of course the imputation itself must be, I leave the candid Reader to judge.

XIII. THESE are some of the grossest Imputations which my religious Antagonists, in their zeal for the interests of *modern* Humanity, not at all incompatible, it seems, with misrepresentation and calumny, have deemed expedient to lay to the charge of my Scriptural Researches. To enumerate and expose them all would be an endless, and, indeed, an unnecessary task; since those I have already pointed out, are a sufficient caution to the Public to mistrust even their most plausible allegations. Whether their invention has been more successful in what they have ventured to object to the *real* Doctrine of the Scriptural Researches, shall be impartially discussed in the Article that follows next.

ARTICLE

A R T I C L E II.

OBJECTIONS *to the* DOCTRINE *of the* SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES *fairly stated and confuted.*

I. **T**HE visible disunion of my Antagonists among themselves, their frequent clashing with each other's opinions, as well as with their own, denying in one place what they asserted in another, maintaining some as undoubted truths what others condemn with the warmest indignation, do not seem to presage infallible success to the cause they have attempted to defend; unless they have some very substantial reasons to call in question, as they have done with other authorities of equal weight, the truth of that divine Decision,---*If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand; and if an house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand; and if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end*(r).---That these unnatural divisions, joined to the artificial irregularity of their objections, studiously misplaced to break the force and connexion of the opposite arguments, must greatly prejudice their Cause, will be easily perceived, if we discuss them in the same regular order, in which the several parts of the Subject are connected with each other in the Scriptural Researches.

OBJEC-

(r) Mark, c: 3. vv: 24, 25, 26.

OBJECTIONS to the DOCTRINE of the DATA.

II. MR. HUGHES is the only one of my brave Antagonists, who has had the good sense not to attempt a formal siege of the obnoxious Data, though he seems to view that fortress with an invidious eye (s): the rest, by rashly engaging in the attack, have not only proved themselves unequal to the task of subverting any one single position, but have miserably betrayed their own ignorance and impiety.

1. It is objected to the first, “that the “Holy Bible, besides the unerring decisions “of the Word of God, contains historical facts “both of a virtuous and of a vicious conduct, “and that even some of those decisions are applicable only to particular times and persons.” (t) —But what is this to the purpose? Does the Datum declare, that the Holy Bible contains nothing but the unerring decisions of the Word of God, or that those decisions are applicable to all times and persons?—Not a word on either subject. Or does it follow, that, because the Bible contains historical facts, and decisions not applicable to all times and persons, it does not therefore contain the unerring decisions of the Word of God? Would it be false to say, that the Bible contains the Five Books of Moses, because it contains other Books besides? It was sufficient for the subject of the Scriptural Researches to confine the Datum to those unerring decisions; because it was from such decisions, visible in every dispensation, that the licitness of the Slave-Trade was to be demonstrated in the series of the Work.

2. *It*

(s) Hughes, p. 3.

(t) Script. Refut. p. 7.

2. *It is not true*, say the dogmatical Triumviri in opposition to the Second, *that the Decisions of the Old and New Testament are of equal authority, for that the former is always controlled by the latter (u).*

---If so, these two impious consequences must necessarily follow: 1st. That either the unerring decisions of the Old Testament, or those of the New, are not of Divine authority; since the authority of the one is said *not to be equal* to that of the other. 2d. That, since the Old Testament is *always* controlled by the New, every thing contained in the former is consequently controlled by the latter; for instance, the whole DECALOGUE.---What a noble system of Theology this! No wonder, if, upon this blasphemous principle, this motley Conclave of Law and Gospel have so preremptorily decided, that the two first positions are *fundamentally false (x)*.

3. All that is objected to the four next positions is perfectly impertinent to the subject. It is said, "that, in any thing that the Scriptures decide to be
"intrinsically good or bad, we have the liberty to
"enquire, whether it be really so declared: that we
"are liable to mistake practices, not positively censured, for such decisions of intrinsic goodness: that,
"before we practice any thing sanctioned by such
"decisions, we must consider under what circumstances those decisions were made, and how far
"they are applicable to our conduct (y): that, when
"they have a reference to a particular person or nation, they ought not to be indiscriminately applied
"to other persons or nations, and, that to do otherwise, would be converting the Book of the Old
"Testament into a general voucher for the licitness
" of

(u) Script. Refut. p. 7.

(x) Ibid.

(y) Ramsay, p. 4.

“ of almost every crime” (a).---What harm these learned Comments can do the doctrine of my Data, is more than I can well comprehend ; since there is not the least ambiguous word in any of them, that can be construed even to insinuate what the Commentators would fain conclude without adducing a single proof, viz. that we are not to enquire, whether any particular practice is or is not really sanctioned by the Word of God ; that we are not liable to mistake uncensured practices for approbative decisions ; or that we are to apply to ourselves inconsiderately and indiscriminately whatever we find sanctioned in the Sacred Writings, even when confined to the situation of a particular person or nation.—Till these assertions are demonstrated to be the *real* Doctrine of the Data, the Data themselves are abundantly sufficient to contradict them.

4. FROM the doctrine of the Seventh Datum, which appears to be one of the most obnoxious to my zealous Antagonists, *it would seem*, says the Consistorial Triumvirate, *that all actions practised under the Jewish Dispensation by the sanction of divine authority, are intrinsically and universally right, and may be virtuously practised by all mankind indiscriminately in all future times, and on all occasions ; even crimes of the deepest dye : for the most evident and incontestible authorities may be selected from the Books of the Old Testament, not only for the lawfulness of lying, theft, polygamy, and fornication, but of the more atrocious crimes of murder, adultery, and revenge (b).*—The objection just refuted is here repeated once more with the addition of blasphemies of the first rank :

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(a) Script. Refut. p. 9. (b) Ibidem, p. 10, 15.

for we are told in express words, *that the most evident and incontestible authorities might be selected from the books of the Old Testament for the lawfulness of lying, theft, fornication, murder, adultery, and revenge*: or, in other words, that the HOLY ONE, *who is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look on iniquity* (c), did positively approve and authorize the perpetration of such enormities under the Mosaic Dispensation.—An imputation this on the unimpeachable Sanctity of God, horrid even to think of! but necessary, it seems, to protect the rights of modern Humanity.

As a proof of this profligate doctrine the incestuous intercourse of the two daughters of Lot is adduced; which is said *not only to pass free from the least shadow of reprehension, but that the offspring became the founders of two powerful nations*(d). But where is the positive sanction of divine authority for the lawfulness of the act? Is it because it passes free from the least shadow of reprehension, that it is supposed to have the sanction of that authority? But this would only be a negative sanction at the best. But even this negative sanction cannot be admitted in the case before us; since the Sacred Writer is so aware of the reprehensibility of the act itself, that he acquits Lot from all wilful participation in the guilt, because he did it ignorantly, or, to use his own words, because *He perceived not when they lay down, nor when they arose* (e); which would have been a needless apology, if the intercourse itself had been lawful and innocent. Or is it, that the act has the positive sanction of divine authority, because the

(c) Habakkuk, c. 1. v. 13. (d) Script. Refut. p. 11, 12.

(e) Gen. c. 19 vv. 33, 35.

the offspring became the founders of two powerful nations? If so; the subsequent prosperity of any spurious Child must henceforth be considered as *a most evident and incontestible divine authority* for the lawfulness of that commerce, to which he owes his existence.—This detestable proof alone of a doctrine still more detestable, is a conclusive argument, without appealing to others which I shall hereafter notice, of the very dark complexion of my anonymous Antagonists.

5. THE spiteful locality of Mr. Ramsay's harmless Commentaries on the remaining Data, shews neither the Gentleman nor the Scholar (f): I shall therefore pass them over in silent contempt. A very singular argument is urged against them by the nameless Refuters: "A sort of maxim has prevailed, *say these Sage Dictators*, that it is improper to reason from the abuse of any given subject against the use of it; but it will surely be granted, that a proneness to abuse is itself strong evidence, that something is wrong in the principle. Our Saviour, *say they*, has taught us to judge of the cause by its effects, and not to suppose that could be right in its principle, which was manifestly wrong in its consequences.---*A good tree*, says he, *cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit; therefore by their fruits ye shall know them*" (g). The minor and the consequence of this nugatory argument are supplied by submitting to the Author of the Data the determination of

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those

(f) Ramsay, p. 5, 6.

(g) Matt, 7, vv. 18, 20.

those fruits which the African Slave-trade has produced (b).

I say, that the argument is *nugatory*, and might with the greatest propriety call it also *captious* and *false*; because the supposition, on which it is built, is erroneous in the extreme: the application of it to a particular instance will shew it to demonstration.—
 “ There is nothing, perhaps, which men have shewed
 “ a greater proneness to abuse than *true Religion*; but
 “ *proneness to abuse is itself strong evidence that some-*
 “ *thing is wrong in the principle*: something there-
 “ fore is wrong in the principle of *true Religion*.—
 As from the samples I have hitherto seen of the Dialectical powers of my anonymous friends, I have no reason to flatter myself, that they will easily discover where the fallacy of this retorsion lies, founded entirely on their own position, I beg leave to observe for their information, that *Proneness to abuse is itself strong evidence, that something is wrong in the principle, not of the thing abused, but of the person who abuses it*: the very word *To abuse* supposes the thing *abused* to be good in itself. We are likewise taught by our Divine Saviour to judge of the tree by its fruits, of the Cause by its effects; but we are never taught to attribute these effects but to the real Cause that produces them: for instance, in the case of men abusing *true Religion*, and thereby producing effects attended with the worst of consequences, we are not to attribute these fatal effects to *Religion*, but to the *abuse* of it, which indeed is the true and only cause of such effects.--- The maxim then insisted on in the impregnable Data, *that it is improper to reason from the abuse of any given subject against the use of it*, remains still firm and unaffected.

III. IT

III. It seems, that the slow and unsuccessful attempts made by Mr. Ramsay and the anonymous Refuters to combat the Data one by one, have set the impetuous Minister of St. John's on rallying all his forces, and resolving on a general assault. In effect, with matchless confidence, he is now ready to demonstrate to the Public, that, if *they would only read in the Data PERSECUTION for SLAVE-TRADE, the Data are equally applicable to his design,* which is not less than that of *Shewing the Licitness of PERSECUTION, as conformable to the principles of Revealed Religion delineated in the Sacred Writings of the Word of God (i).*---This certainly is a very hostile design: whether the execution of it is as successful as that is formidable, will soon appear to the Reader.

Let us, in compliance with his request, substitute the word *Persecution* for that of *Slave-Trade* in the very first Datum, where the latter is found: it happens to be the VIIth; this then will read as follows —“ That, if one or more Decisions of the Written Word of God give a positive sanction to the intrinsic licitness of any human pursuit (for instance, PERSECUTION), whoever professes to believe the incontrovertible veracity of the Written Word of God, essentially incompatible with the least degree of injustice, must consequently believe the pursuit itself to be intrinsically just and lawful in the strictest sense of the word.” But *Persecution*, subsumes the incautious M. A., *has certainly the sanction of divine authority in its support in the VIIth Chapter of Deuteronomy, v. 1--6: it is therefore*

(i) Dannett, p. 124, 123.

therefore intrinsically just and lawful in the strictest sense of the word (k).---Whatever reasons Mr. Dannett may have had to suppress the words to which he appeals, I cannot think of following his example. ---They are the following :

“ When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into
 “ the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath
 “ cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites,
 “ and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the
 “ Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites,
 “ and the Jebusites, seven nations, greater and
 “ mightier than thou : and when the Lord thy God
 “ shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite
 “ them, and utterly destroy them, thou shalt make
 “ no Covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto
 “ them. Neither shalt thou make marriages with
 “ them : thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his
 “ son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy
 “ son. For they will turn away thy son from fol-
 “ lowing me, that they may serve other Gods : so
 “ will the anger of the Lord be kindled against you
 “ and destroy thee suddenly. But thus shall ye deal
 “ with them ; ye shall destroy their altars, and
 “ break down their images, and cut down their
 “ groves, and burn their graven images with fire.”

If Mr. Dannett insists, that these words are a divine sanction to the licitness of *Persecution*, he must grant, of course, that the destruction of the seven devoted nations was *an act of Persecution* ; but this destruction was certainly *an act of Divine Justice*, where God himself was the principal Agent, for it is expressly

prefsly said, that *He himself was to cast them out before his people*, that *He himself was to deliver them before the Israelites*, whom he had chosen the instruments of his Justice: therefore the Almighty himself was the sole and real PERSECUTOR in the Case. --- Whether this unavoidable conclusion, if ever foreseen by the sneering Mr. Dannett, does not argue a more settled design *to libel the great Author of human nature*, than that he would fain impute to the Author of the Scriptural Researches (1), is not very difficult to determine; any more than it is to conclude, that the boasted overthrow of the Data *by only substituting one Word for another*, is a mere empty bravado, the child of ignorance and presumption.

OBJECTIONS to the ARGUMENTS drawn from the CONDUCT of ABRAHAM and JOSEPH.

IV. THE whimsical hypotheses of my Antagonists, respecting the nature and circumstances of Hagar's servitude, how she became Abraham's property; who her mother was or might be; where she was born, whether in the North-East part of Egypt or elsewhere; how far she was advanced in her pregnancy at the time of her elopement, for the Minister of St. John's, relying peradventure on some old Aphorism of his Original Profession, is very positive
that

(1) Dannett, p. 123.

that she was only with *an embryo-child* at that very time; &c. (*m*); these curious hypotheses, I say, not being very interesting, nor warranted by the Sacred Writings, are not certainly worth my notice: She was *an Egyptian*, says the Scripture, *a bond-woman* to Abraham, and *bad conceived* before she left her Master's house (*n*). Her case is what concerns the present Controversy; and such is the weight of conviction, that it carries along with it in support of the intrinsic licitness of the Slave-Trade, that, except the anonymous Refuters, who have prudently waved the discussion of the principal circumstance that attends it, the rest have all agreed to oppose the very letter of Scripture under a pretence that they cannot see what is so very visible to every body else.---Moles, as well as persons afflicted with sore eyes, can never face the light.

They tell us with unbounded assurance, that the conduct of Hagar was not condemned by the Representative of God, as said by the Author of the Scriptural Researches; that not a syllable appears of such condemnation or reproof in the words of the heavenly Messenger addressed to Hagar, who declaring that she fled from the face of her Mistress Sarai, was immediately ordered by Him, *To return unto her Mistress, and to submit herself under her hands*: the most tender good-natured friend, say they, could not have given her a kinder advice, or express it in terms more free from reproach (*o*): just as if the kindest admonition of a friend (even taking the words of the Angel in the most favourable

(*m*) Dannett, p. 11.

(*n*) Gen. c. 16. vv. 1--6. c. 21. 12.

(*o*) Hughes, p. 9. Dannett, p. 12.

able sense) directing another to return to his duty, were not a manifest condemnation of the latter's conduct in deviating from it. Neither can the Angel's words be tortured to mean, as they are by Mr. Dannett's Paraphrase upon them, *that she had better submit to the cruelty and caprice of a rival wife, than to forsake her husband to whom she was legally married, and perish through hunger together with her unborn infant (a)*; for, besides there is no hint given in Scripture, that she was in any such danger, the subsequent conduct of the Angel soon after her emancipation, entirely defeats the purpose of this evasive paraphrase. She was then as legally married to Abraham as she had been before, and she was really perishing through want with Ishmael her son (b): and yet we do not find, that the Angel gave her any such paraphrastical advice; neither did he order her *to return unto her Mistress, and submit herself under her hands*; because she was then free, and was no longer bound in duty to return to her former Master's house, as she had been at the time of her elopement.

If after this ocular demonstration my antagonists still persist, *that not a syllable of condemnation or reproof appears in the Angel's words to Hagar*, they must be short-sighted indeed! I remember to have heard of a consequential short-sighted Cobbler, who, unable to work without the help of glasses, lost a considerable part of a day's work in looking for his spectacles, which happened to be on *his very nose* all the while.

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V. FROM

(a) Dannett, p. 12.

[b] Gen. c. 21. vv. 14--19.

V. FROM the circumstances of Hagar's case, the Scriptural Researches draw this final inference—
 “ That the Slave-Trade, even when attended with
 “ circumstances not altogether conformable to the
 “ feelings of humanity, is essentially consistent with
 “ the sacred and unalienable rights of justice ; and has
 “ the positive sanction of God in its support ; how-
 “ ever displeasing those circumstances may be to his
 “ Fatherly Providence, as they appear to have been
 “ in the Case of Hagar ; who, in alleviation of her
 “ sufferings and affliction, was promised the honour
 “ of being the Mother of a numerous progeny,
 “ branched out afterwards into twelve powerful
 “ Kingdoms.”—Every one of my candid Oppo-
 nents, except Mr. Ramsay, has, for very obvious
 reasons, suppressed the latter part, where those cir-
 cumstances are said *to be displeasing* to the Deity.
 But let us suppose for a moment, that the words in
 the Researches are just as they are quoted by them.
 —What is there in this inference, that can make
 the brave Mr. Dannett *almost tremble whilst he quotes*
it, and call it *a daring attack on the divine Character* ?
 What can make the pious Mr. Hughes *thank*
his God, that his ideas of Justice are as different from
this as light from darkness ? Is it a theorem so very
 complicated, as not only to escape the profound pe-
 netration of Mr. Ramsay, but also to baffle the
 joint understandings of the sagacious Triumvirate,
 who seem to have no conception of it (c) ?

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(c) Dannett, p. 14: Hughes, p. 11. Ramsay, p. 15.
 Script. Refut. p. 34, 35.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, differing as they often do in other things, they should all concur in impugning with the greatest vehemence this very orthodox doctrine. That it is such in fact, will appear evident to the meanest capacity from the following application of it to a Case equally obvious and common.—A man, by just and legal contract, marries a wife; but some time after, either wantonly, or on some trifling occasion of disgust, *deals hardly with her*, as Sarai did with Hagar: would it be improper to infer from the situation of this married couple, *that MARRIAGE, even when attended with circumstances not altogether conformable to the feelings of humanity, is essentially consistent with the sacred and unalienable rights of Justice, and has the positive sanction of God in its support?* No, by no means: and why? but because the husband's unkindness to his wife does not set aside the intrinsic justice and legality of the original marriage-contract. It would be an insult to common sense to say one syllable more on so clear a subject.

VI. THE uncommon wit and erudition of Mr. Dannett forbid me to close this subject without taking some notice of a Scriptural Anecdote, with which he has favoured the Public. *Had I*, says he, *enjoyed the honour of the Scriptural Researcher's acquaintance, I could have pointed out to him a distinguished Character of a much earlier period than Abraham; of whom it may be affirmed with much more truth, that he lived under the law of Nature: I mean the illustrious Nimrod, who appears to have been a great Slave-Hunter in his day, and, not improbably, a*

Slave-Merchant (d). The Scriptural Researcher must for ever regret, that Mr. Dannett should have any reason to disown his acquaintance; he is thereby deprived of such valuable hints, as would occasionally point out to him the most rational mode of interpreting the Sacred Books. In effect, singular as the above anecdote may appear to the unlearned, Mr. Dannett has the undoubted authority of Scripture on his side, if I do not egregiously mistake his ingenious allusion. I will just put it, with his leave, in the form of an Enthymeme, which, as a M. A., he can have no objection to. It runs thus:—"The illustrious Nimrod, says the Sacred Page, *was a mighty Hunter before the Lord*, Gen. c. 10. v. 9: he was therefore a great Slave-hunter, and, not improbably, a Slave-merchant."—Every person, who has the least dialectical tincture, must feel the absolute necessity of acquiescing in the consequence: and, by parity of reason, the following Enthymeme must be allowed to be equally forcible and just:—"The equestrian Minister of St. John's is said to be a *mighty Rider*; therefore he is a great Afs-rider, and, not improbably, an Afs-merchant."—Or in the form of a syllogism:—"Mighty Hunters are mighty Riders; but the Minister of St. John's is a mighty Rider; he is therefore a mighty Hunter, and, not improbably, went a-hunting with Nimrod, mounted on his tame steed richly caparisoned."—I scorn to give a more serious answer to such senseless Rabbinic figments!

VII. WON-

VII. WONDERFUL is the variety of systems and opinions, turns and quirks, of my disunited Antagonists, to justify their Cause against the contrary evidence of Joseph's purchase of Pharaoh's subjects. Except Mr. Hughes, who, with unhallowed freedom, scruples not to call it *the worst action upon record of an unenlightened Patriarch (e)*, one would almost be tempted to imagine, that the rest had all been Members of Pharaoh's Privy Council, so very minute they are in giving us a most circumstantial detail of such particulars respecting Pharaoh's and Joseph's most secret motives and intentions, and their political plans and measures, as are no where to be met with in the Sacred Records, and ought therefore to be passed over in silent admiration of the Inventors deep erudition.---They are indeed so very much harrassed to conciliate the Scriptural account with their favourite design, that they even call in question the authority of the Protestant Bible, and betake themselves to such other Texts and Translations as have no authenticity in their Church (*f*): nay, Mr. Dannett goes even so far, as to fly for protection to the very Bible of the Church of Rome (*g*): the first instance, perhaps, of a Clergyman of the Church of England flying for protection to that source!

VIII. Now, after so many painful manœuvres, after scribbling two dozen of pages, as does the Minister of St. John's, without advancing against the

(e) Hughes, p. 14.

(f) Ramfay, p. 17. Dannett, p. 17, 18.

(g) Dannett, p. 18.

the doctrine of the Researches one tittle more, than what the Researches themselves have so openly advanced and confuted respecting the pretended voluntary cession of the Egyptians (*b*) ; all that I find objected to the point in question is, that Joseph's purchase of Pharaoh's Subjects was not a forcible purchase in fact, and in strictness of language, though they were forced, through dread of inevitable death, to submit to Slavery : and why ? because, says the over-acute Mr. Dannett, it would follow from this principle, that all contracts entered into *upon very strong motives* are forcible (*i*). A truly logical conclusion ! But where is the proof, Rev. M. A. ? --- Every body must grant, that a man, for instance, actuated by a *very strong* motive of interest, may or may not, if he chuses, enter into an advantageous contract : but can the same be said of a person, who reduced to the necessary alternative of chusing either inevitable death, or selling himself by contract to another, *without possibility* of avoiding both, yields to the latter merely to avoid the former, though, if left to his own choice, he would certainly avoid both ? This then was the very case of the Egyptians, when they contracted with Joseph ; and on account of the necessary alternative to which they were reduced, *without possibility* of avoiding both the extremes, their contract is called in the Researches a *forcible* or an *involuntary* contract. --- Neither is a *forcible* contract an implication in terms ; because the mutual consent and agreement of the parties which a *Contract* implies, when this word is applied

(*b*) Script. Researches, p. 33, 34, 35.

(*i*) Dannett, p. 40.

applied to signify a *bargain*, a *sale*, or *purchase*, as is in the case before us, has the same identical import as the mutual exchange of the commodities of the parties ; which, whether perfectly free and voluntary on the one part, and agreed to by the other against his own inclination, merely to avoid what he cannot possibly prevent, does not in the least derogate from the true nature and essence of a *real Contract*.

IX. THERE is nothing left unanswered on this head, but a demi-objection from Mr. Hughes ; who, having so daringly condemned the conduct of Joseph in this transaction, will not even suffer the Psalmist to intimate the least approbation of it, and charges the Author of the *Researches* with *absolute falsehood* for saying that he does. *The Researcher*, says he, *refers the Reader to Psalm cv. v. 16--24, where not one word is to be found of this transaction between Joseph and the Egyptians, not even the most remote allusion to it (k).* What ? not even a word, or the most remote allusion ? What then does the Psalmist mean by relating with so much praise the wisdom of Joseph's administration during that general famine, a very principal part of which was this very transaction ? What does he mean by extolling with such commendations and stresses *his power to bind the princes at his pleasure*, of the exercise of which power the Psalmist had no other instance to allude to but the very transaction we are speaking of ?---If ever Mr. Hughes favours the Public with a second Edition of his

(k) Hughes, p. 16.

his elegant performance, I would advise him to insert this demi-objection among the other Errata.

OBJECTIONS to the ARGUMENTS drawn from
the Books of EXODUS, LEVITICUS, and
JOSHUA.

X. NONE of my Antagonists have judged expedient to meddle with the authorities of Exodus, and Leviticus, but the Minister of St. John's: for, though Mr. Ramsay has just hinted that of Exodus, the only *single line* he has advanced to set it aside, is in direct contradiction with the Scriptures: for, objecting to himself the latter part of that Authority, from which the Scriptural Researches conclude, that *if a Hebrew Slave had married a wife with the consent of his Master, both she and her children became the Master's property for ever* (l), This, says he, seems not to be candidly expressed; this wife must have been a Heathen Slave (m). But is Mr. Ramsay such a novice in the Scriptures, as not to know, that the Hebrews were forbidden by their law to marry the heathen? (n).

XI. THE mysterious silence of my other Opponents is very amply compensated by the insufferable verbosity of Mr. Dannett, who has blurred full fifteen

(l) Script. Researches p. 34.

(m) Ramsay, p. 23.

(n) Exod. 34. 16. Deut. 7. 3.

teen long pages in attempting to confute what the Scriptural Researches have proved in two. He objects (o)

1st. That "an indigent Hebrew sold to a Brother, was not *in any sense* of the word a true and real Slave; because the Master was ordered *not to compel him to serve as a bond-servant but as an hired servant:*" just, as if the nature of his condition, which was that of a person *bought with money*, could undergo a total change by the Master, being commanded to treat him with peculiar humanity: he certainly was not *a hired servant*; what was he then, but a *Slave*?

2d. That, "for whatever cause he was sold, even for theft, he was *in the lowest sense* his Master's *property*; because it was commanded by divine authority, that *if a man smite out his man servant's or his maid servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake*, Exod. 21. 27." But here, as in many other places, he has overshot his mark; for it is evident from the very letter of this penal Law, that before the Hebrew servant received that injury, he was not *free*; that is, he was a *bond-man*; and as such, the Master's real *property*: and, that as soon as the Master *smote out his tooth*, he then recovered his *freedom*, and the Master lost the *property* of him in punishment of his severity. Whilst the Master kept within the bounds of the Law, the Hebrew thus bought by him was as much *his property* in the strictest sense of the word, as had been *the money* which he gave for him; in so much, says the same Divine

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Law-giver, that if a man smite his servant, or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished: notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, for he is his money. (p)

3d. "A true and real Slave cannot have any property of his own: but if the Hebrew servant came in married, the Master had no property in his wife and children, whom the Master was obliged to maintain during the servitude of his *Slave*, though they were not his Slaves, and who went out with the *Slave*;"——here the consequence is wanted, which, to answer his purpose, must be this, "Therefore the Hebrew servant, who came in married, was no *Slave*:" and yet, this very incoherent Logician tells us twice in his Minor, that he really was a *Slave*; for the Master, says he, was obliged to maintain, during the servitude of his *Slave*, his wife and children, who went out with the *Slave*.—Besides this glaring inconsistency, not much to the credit of a M. A. there are two things in his curious syllogism, which he has barely asserted without a proof: the first is, that a true and real Slave cannot have any property of his own: and the second, that the Master was obliged to maintain the wife and children of his Slave during his servitude: both which propositions, being destitute of all proof, I have, at least, as great a right to deny them, as he can presume to have for asserting them. This however I must observe, that, if his first proposition be true, both he and his fellow-labourers have greatly misled the Public, and mispent so much of their precious time, in combating an imaginary

ginary phantom of Slavery, a windmill for a giant : since it is an undoubted fact, that the Slaves in the West-Indies may all have, and most of them have, some property of their own ; so that, in conformity to Mr. Dannett's doctrine, there is no such a thing in the West-Indies as a *real* and *true* Slave.

4th. " The Hebrew Master, *say the Researches*, " had an undoubted right and power to sell his Hebrew Slave to another person, because he was his property bought for a certain price." But Mr. Dannett replies, that " as the Law is silent upon this head, that right would depend on the nature of the contract ; and that, if the contract did not express it, he sees no reason to allow such a latitude."—The Law did certainly and expressly allow such a latitude to a sojourner or a stranger with respect to his Hebrew slave (*q*) : what reason then can Mr. Dannett alledge for not allowing the same latitude, so congenial with the right of property acquired by a bargain, to a Hebrew Master with respect to a Slave of the same description ?

5th. " The Law limiting the *time* of servitude, " *says Mr. Dannett*, was especially peculiar to the Hebrews, according to the Scriptural Researches ; why " was not the Law respecting *the servitude itself*, " peculiar likewise ?" The reason is very obvious ; because the Almighty, who was the framer of those Laws, and is no way accountable for his Determinations, either to Mr. Dannett, or any of his creatures, made a positive distinction between them.—But *the distinction*, replies very pertly the hasty Minister of

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(*q*) Levit. c. 25. vv. 47—53.

St. John's, *is not expressed or implied in the Laws themselves; they both are given to the Hebrews, and both respect the purchase of Hebrew Slaves.* Mr. Dannett has told us somewhere (r), that he has frequently read the Law of Moses; and it appears from this reply, that many a school-boy have done equally as much. Let Mr. Dannett read with some attention from v. 47 to v. 55 of the XXVth Chapter of LEVITICUS, and there he will find the *distinction* he denies, *expressed* in the clearest terms; he will find, that the Law respecting *the Servitude itself*, even of *Hebrew Slaves* (for so Mr. Dannett himself calls them, very inconsistently with his former declarations) is not *exclusively peculiar* to the Hebrews, but extends likewise to the sojourners and strangers, who are allowed the purchasing of Hebrew Slaves, and holding them as their property, till they be either redeemed, or set at liberty in the year of Jubilee.

6th. "The Law of Exodus, *urges Mr. Dannett*, "does not say, that the wife and children of an "emancipated Hebrew Slave, became the Master's "property for ever; *for ever* is a supplement of the "Researcher's own, added to the text; and is not "true, taken in the usual sense of the words; because in the fiftieth year, or the year of Jubilee, "they obtained their liberty; consequently, they "were not to be Slaves *for ever*."—This quaint observation can have no manner of weight against the doctrine of the Scriptural Researches, unless Mr. Dannett can prove, that the Author has either declared or intimated any where, that the expression *for ever*, when applied to the slavery of an Hebrew, is to be

(r) Dannett, p. 54.

be taken in *the usual sense of the words*, so as to express *unlimited time or perpetuity*. But as the Author has constantly declared, agreeably to the tenour of Exodus and Leviticus, that an Hebrew could not be a Slave to an Hebrew Master *in this unlimited sense* of the words; the words *for ever*; not, as Mr. Dannett would fain impose on the Reader, *added as a supplement to the text*, which is given in the Researches without any supplement or addition, cannot be supposed by any intelligent and candid Reader to have been used in this place by the Author of the Researches to convey any other idea, but that the wife and children of the Hebrew Slave became the Master's property to the utmost extent of time that their slavery could continue, without even being entitled, as were the other Hebrew Slaves, to the benefit of the sabbatical year.

XII. FROM this sample of Mr. Dannett's Strictures on the authority from the Book of Exodus, the Reader cannot reasonably expect, that the arguments in favour of the Slave-Trade drawn from that of Leviticus, will be very ably confuted by this same Mr. Dannett. He objects, (*s*)

1st. That, "if, as the Author of the Researches declares, the Law of Leviticus does not only give a most positive sanction to the intrinsic licitness of the Slave-Trade, but seems farther to lay, as it were, an injunction on the Children of Israel to prosecute that traffic; it will follow, that they were as much obliged to buy perpetual Slaves of the nations round about them, and of the children of the
"strangers,

(*s*) Dannett, p. 63, 64, 70.

* strangers, as they were to observe the Sabbath." This singular inference is so exactly logical, that had Mr. Dannett suppressed in the Title-page the two favourite initials tacked to his name, no one could have possibly doubted, but what it proceeded from a consummate M. A. In effect, it runs thus in a syllogistical form,—“ The Law, according to the Researcher, *“ seems to lay, as it were, an injunction on the* “ Children of Israel to prosecute the Slave-Trade under a certain restriction ; but the same Law *does* “ *not seem* to lay, but does *positively* lay on the “ Children of Israel, not *as it were* an injunction, but “ a formal peremptory precept and command to observe the Sabbath, without any restriction whatever ; “ therefore the Children of Israel were as much “ obliged to buy perpetual Slaves of the nations “ round about them, and of the children of the “ strangers, as they were to observe the Sabbath.”—A very Apprentice in Logic must be sensible, that the consequence is perfectly unconnected with the premises.

2d. “ To shew the futility of the Researcher’s interpretation of the Law he quotes, we will apply “ it, *says the incomparable Mr. Dannett*, to another “ injunction, in which the expression is equally mandatory, Deut. xxv. 5.—*If brethren dwell together,* “ *and one of them die, and have no child, the wife of* “ *the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger :* “ *her husband’s brother shall go in unto her, and take* “ *her to him to wife, &c.*—The Law-giver does not “ say, that the husband’s brother MAY marry her, “ but that he SHALL take her to him to wife.”—What then ? Will Mr. Dannett deny, that this was a
positive

positive injunction in the Old Law? If he does, as he seems to do, it is more than any one ever did before him; and he may with equal propriety explode, without distinction, every positive injunction peculiar to the Jews registered in the Book of Deuteronomy; for the *futility* of the Researcher's interpretation of the *mandatory* expression is equally applicable to them all.

3d. "The words of the Law, *They shall be your bond-men for ever*, cannot mean, says Mr. Dannett, that the Slaves bought of the heathen and strangers, were to continue in bondage beyond the year of Jubilee; for then all Slaves regained their liberty, both men and children."—But is the Minister of St. John's so lamentably deficient in Biblical knowledge, as not to know, that the Hebrews alone were entitled to the privileges and benefit of the Jubilee? Had there been no year of Jubilee from the days of Joshua to the time of King David? How came then the Gibeonites to have remained in perpetual hereditary bondage during that long period of years, notwithstanding the benefit of eight Jubilees, at least, that must have been proclaimed and celebrated throughout the Land?

XIII. BUT even Joshua's conduct, respecting the slavery of the Gibeonites, is objected to, as an instance not at all favourable to the Slave-Trade. It is even retorted against the Author of the Researches, who, according to his mode of proof, says confidently Mr. Hughes, *both actually demonstrated, that Joshua had involved himself in the guilt of perjury. The Researcher's account of this matter, urges this eminent*
 Logician,

Logician, *may be thus summed up in form of syllogism.*
 “Joshua confirmed by oath a solemn league made
 “with the Gibeonites, entitling them to the privi-
 “leges and franchises of free allies; but Joshua, in
 “defiance of this league, reduced the Gibeonites to
 “a state of Slavery: therefore Joshua incurred the
 “guilt of perjury (*t*).”—The syllogism would cer-
 tainly be conclusive, if Mr. Hughes could demon-
 strate, that what he advances in his Major is the Re-
 searcher’s account of the matter: but fortunately for
 the Researcher, and most unluckily for the Rev.
 M. A. the Researcher has no where advanced, that
 Joshua confirmed by oath a solemn league made with
 the Gibeonites, entitling them to the privileges and
 franchises of free allies: he has advanced nothing
 more, than that the Princes of the Congregation,
 and not Joshua, confirmed that league by oath, which
 corresponds exactly with the Scriptural account;
 where we find, that, before the Stratagem of the
 Gibeonites was discovered, *Joshua made peace with*
them, and made a league with them, to let them live,
and the Princes of the Congregation swear unto them
 (*u*). But

1st. “Here is not a word, continues Mr. Hughes,
 “of privileges and franchises of free allies; Joshua
 “simply made a league with them, to let them live”
 (*w*). But the Scripture says, that he made both a
peace and a *league*: by the former their lives were
 secured; by the latter they became their allies, and
 as such entitled to the privileges and franchises of
 allies.

2d. “The

(*t*) Hughes, p. 23, 24, 25. (*u*) Joshua, c. 9. v. 15.

(*w*) Hughes, p. 26.

2d. “The Gibeonites, *say the anonymous Refuters*,
 “having been absolutely delivered up to the power
 “of Joshua, who was authorized, and even com-
 “manded, to destroy them; he could, with the per-
 “mission of God, change that severity of treatment
 “to a milder punishment; and from such change,
 “the Gibeonites derived a great advantage, viz. the
 “preservation of their lives (*w*).” True: but where
 does the Scripture insinuate, that Joshua had any
 such permission from God? No where that I can
 find. Groundless suppositions need only being ex-
 posed, but not refuted; they refute themselves.

3d. The carping Minister of St. John’s will by no
 means allow, that the Gibeonites were all consigned
 by Joshua to perpetual and hereditary Slavery.—
 “This hereditary Slavery, *says he*, is not at all im-
 “plied in the words *unto this day*. They were in-
 “deed to be hewers of wood unto this day, viz. unto
 “the day, when the Author of this Book (*the Book*
 “*of Joshua*) wrote. It is the general opinion of the
 “learned world, that this book was composed by
 “Joshua, or, at least, by one of his contemporaries.
 “If so, the Gibeonites might be hewers of wood and
 “drawers of water unto this day; that is, until the
 “time when Joshua or his contemporary wrote; and
 “yet all their posterity might not be consigned to
 “the same servitude. If they were so consigned, the
 “Scriptural Researcher must prove it from some other
 “passage of Holy Writ. So that the bondage, to
 “which all the posterity of the Gibeonites were con-
 “demned, is a groundless and imaginary supposition,
 U “leaning

“leaning upon a false interpretation of the words
 “*unto this day* (x).”

Mr. Dannett's acquaintance with the learned world must be exceedingly slender and confined, if he does not know, as appears from his words, that it is likewise their general opinion, that the expression *even unto this day*, so frequent in the sacred Books, relates to an event that had happened long before, and that it was inserted in the Book of Joshua long after his death, without injuring his claim to the authorship of the Book that bears his name : and that, upon the same ground, it is also the general opinion of the learned world, that the Book of DEUTERONOMY was most undoubtedly composed by Moses himself, notwithstanding the same expression is found in it relating to a transaction that happened long after the death of Moses ; even as far as two hundred and forty years after (y).

But we need not consult the learned world to expose the insignificant figure that Mr. Dannett makes in their respectable company : the very text of Joshua is sufficient to shew, that he can have no real pretensions to their acquaintance.—*And Joshua*, says the Scripture, *made them* (the Gibeonites) *that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Congregation, and for the Altar of the Lord, even unto this day, in the place which he should chuse*. Where it is evident, that the expression *even unto this day*, being immediately followed as a part of the same sentence, and a continuation of the sense, by the words *in the place which he* (the Lord) *should chuse*, shews to demonstration,

(x) Dannett, p. 77, 78. (y) Deut. c. 3. v. 14.

monstration, that the Race of the Gibeonites were consigned by Joshua to a state of perpetual and hereditary Slavery; for they were to continue *brewers of wood and drawers of water* in any place whatever, which the Lord should afterwards chuse for his residence. Accordingly, we find them in the same state of bondage in the days of Saul and David, upwards of four hundred years after. So that the bondage, to which all the posterity of the Gibeonites were condemned, is not a mere groundless and imaginary supposition, leaning upon a false interpretation of the words *unto this day*; but a real fact, supported by the very letter and spirit of the sacred words, never yet called in question by the learned world.

OBJECTIONS *to the ARGUMENTS drawn from* *the NEW TESTAMENT.*

XIV. THE anonymous Triumvirate have taken endless pains to prove to the World, that the Christian Dispensation is more perfect than the Mosaic, and has annulled many things that were allowed by the latter; both which assertions are to be found in the III^d SECTION of the Scriptural Researches in very clear and intelligible words. It is, however, somewhat marvellous, that they should now, towards the close of their elaborate Piece, confine the controlling power of the New Testament only to some particular points of the Old Law, after having so peremptorily decided at the first onset, *that it is not true, that the decisions of the Old and New Testaments are of equal autho-*

rity, for that the former is always controlled by the latter (a).—It is likewise not a little surprising, that, to prove the controlling power of the New over the Old Testament, they should produce, among other instances, those words of our Blessed Saviour, *Ye have heard, that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy : but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you (b) :* for, if these words were a *disannulling of the commandment going before*, as they pretend (c), the Jews must have been commanded by their Law *to love their neighbours, and to hate their enemies*. But where is this pretended commandment to be found in the Old Law ?—No where.—The case is, the Law commanded them *to love their neighbours (d)* ; and they, perverting the commandment, had added the latter part, which the Law never mentioned ; viciously concluding, *that they were to hate their enemies*. Now, it was this false conclusion, this gloss, this vicious interpretation of their own, that our Saviour condemned in the above controlling words, *without disannulling the commandment going before*, which to this day remains the same.

XV. To come now to the point in question, after having collected a considerable number of Texts to prove what no body can deny, viz. that the Christian Dispensation is not only more perfect than the Mosaic, but has also exercised in some points a controlling power over the latter, they venture to draw the following very singular inference against the licitness of the

(a) Script. Refut. p. 7. 8. (b) Matt. c. 5. vv. 43, 44.

(c) Script. Refut. p. 58, 59. (d) Levit. c. 19. v. 18.

the Slave-Trade. “ It is evident, *say they*, from the
 “ foregoing passages of the New Testament, not only,
 “ that the moral prohibitions of our Saviour extend-
 “ ed further than the injunctions of the Old Law,
 “ and rendered that conduct unlawful, which had be-
 “ fore been permitted, but that such prohibitions ac-
 “ tually extended to the particular Case in question,
 “ and that all practices inimical to the general wel-
 “ fare and interests of mankind, were from thence-
 “ forth to be abolished ; for, if it be the duty of a
 “ Christian *not to resist evil, to love his enemies, to*
 “ *bless those that curse, and pray for those who perse-*
 “ *cute him,*—how can it be supposed, that he shall at
 “ the same time have an inherent right *to do evil to*
 “ *another, to injure those who never injured him, and*
 “ *to destroy those, who so far from having either per-*
 “ *secuted, or cursed him, have never known that such*
 “ *a person was in existence (e) ?*”—Here is pathos
 and rhetoric enough ! but such pathos as will not
 move, and such rhetoric as persuadeth not.

This is, what Logicians call, *begging the question* :
 for the consequence is applied to the particular case
 in question, viz. the Slave-Trade, on the supposition,
 which has never yet been proved, that, if the Trade
 is lawful to a Christian, this, contrary to the maxims
 of the Gospel, *must have an inherent right to do evil to*
another, to injure those who never injured him, and to
destroy those, who so far from having either persecuted
or cursed him, have never known that such a person
was in existence. Till the anonymous Refuters vouch-
 safe to demonstrate to the world, that this *supposed*
 right is *inherent* in the Slave-Trade, or that the pro-
 hibitions

(e) Script. Refut, p. 63, 64.

hibitions of our Saviour *actually extend* to the Slave-Trade, and render it *unlawful*; the prosecution of it, unattended with any criminal abuse, must, from the contrary evidences of the New Testament in favour of it, be essentially lawful and just.

XVI. INCREDIBLE is the laborious assurance, with which the Minister of St. John's endeavours to impose on his Readers, that the Author of the Researches considers the Slave-Trade as a *moral* part of the Mosaic Dispensation. "He cautiously passes over; *says he*, the *judicial* part, the *judgements* in deep silence; because he knew, that the Slave-Trade belonged to this member of the division of the Mosaic Law (*f*)."
Were I not certain from a former instance, that Mr. Dannett's optic nerves are very much impaired of late, I would impute this glaring falsity to a very different cause. The Scriptural Researches are so far from passing over the *judicial* part, the *judgements*, in deep silence, that they even style a *judgement* the very first Law relative to the Slave-Trade under the Mosaic Dispensation: "It is singular enough, *say they*, that the very first Law, or *judgement* in the Scripture language, enacted by God himself immediately after he had delivered the Ten Commandments to his People, should be respecting the SLAVE-TRADE (*g*)."
—Neither can I conceive what detriment can accrue to the Scriptural Researches by classing the Slave-Trade in the *judicial* Code, or by considering the Laws of the Slave-Trade as *judicial* Laws; so long as the morality inherent to the object of those Laws is declared in both the Testaments essentially good in its nature, and the prosecution

(*f*) Dannett, p. 92. (*g*) Script. Researches, p. 32.

cution of it, not only no where abrogated, but positively confirmed and sanctioned by the New.

XVII. EVERY one of my worthy Antagonists have judiciously declined following the thread of argument, that the I. EPISTLE to Timothy affords in favour of the Slave-Trade. Messrs. Ramsay and Hughes are perfectly silent on the subject, and Messrs. the Triumviri and Dannett are not more advanced than their Confreres by their loquacious apostrophes and declamations; which, when properly analyzed, contain nothing in fact, that can any way affect the validity of one single inference drawn in favour of the Slave-Trade. We are told, indeed, by the ingenious Mr. Dannett, and the same is intimated by the anonymous Refuters, that “the Apostle in the passage before us
 “is only pointing out the general duties of Servants,
 “and never dreamed of either justifying or condemn-
 “ing the Slave-Trade: after the example of his Di-
 “vine Master, who commands the first Preachers of
 “the Gospel; *Bless them that curse you, do good to*
 “*them that hate you, and pray for them that despite-*
 “*fully use you, and persecute you: Matt. v. 44.*——
 “Not by any means designing to vindicate such
 “usage (b).”

But this evasive reply is in fact begging the question: for it evidently supposes what has never yet been proved, or ever will, viz. that Masters had no greater right to the services and duties to which their bond-servants are exhorted by St. Paul, than had those persons, who *curfed, hated, despitefully used, and persecuted* the first Preachers of the Gospel, to the
 blessings,

(b) Dannett, p. 110. Script. Refut. p. 69.

blessings, good offices, and prayers of the latter. Our Saviour's injunction exhorts his followers to duties of pure Charity ; that of St. Paul exhorts bond-servants to duties of strict Justice : the persecutors of the first Preachers could claim no right whatever to the former ; they were indeed unworthy of any such returns : but the Masters of bond-servants, being worthy of all honour due to them by the latter, had a right to those services and duties to which these are exhorted by St. Paul in consequence of it.—Let then Mr. Dannett, as a teacher of the contrary doctrine, take out, when he can, the sting of the Apostolic Stigma—If any man teach otherwise, &c. which seems so painful to him (i).

XVIII. THE logical indigence of my worthy antagonists is no where more perceptible, than in their harmless attacks on the Scriptural Researches respecting the beautiful Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon.—Mr. Ramsay wanders about, as usual, without ever coming to the point in question. The nameless Refuters charge the Author of the Researches with interpolation and forgery: and Mr. Dannett grounds the whole of his reply on a particular expression used in the Scriptural Researches, which he seems to consider as a real text of Scripture. Mr. Hughes declines all interference in the contest.

1st. “ The Apostle, *say the anonymous Refuters,*
 “ sends back Onesimus to his Master, requesting
 “ him to receive him, *not as a servant, but above a*
 “ *servant ; a brother beloved, especially to me, but*
 “ *how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in*
 “ *the*

(i) Dannett, p. 114, 115.

“ *the Lord*. Where does the Apostle address Philemon in the words expressly attributed to him by Mr. Harris, *that he would never attempt to deprive him of his Slave?* Where does he acknowledge to Philemon, that Onesimus is his own brother in Christ, though *still his property according to the flesh?* These passages seem to be the last resort of a person, who, not being able to support his assertion from the evident purport of the words, is obliged to have recourse to *forgery and interpolation(j).*”

As the words of St. Paul’s epistle to Philemon are given in the Researches pure and genuine, without either a syllable or letter being *interpolated* or *falsified*, I cannot but conclude, that either the anonymous Refuters do not know the meaning of the words, *interpolation* and *forgery*, or, that, if they do, they have attempted once more to impose on the good faith of their Readers. It is true, Mr. Harris has afterwards explained the literal import of the Apostle’s words; but a literal explanation of any portion of Scripture, a Commentary, or a paraphrase upon it, cannot *justly* be called *Interpolation* and *Forgery*.—If the Justinian Member of the Triumvirate has had any hand in this charge, I would advise him as a friend, to ground any other *action for forgery* he may have occasion to commence on better principles than this.

Now, though the answer to the queries they propose after clipping the Apostle’s words, may be seen in the Scriptural Researches (*k*); yet, it may not be improper to remind them, that the answer to the First is evidently implied in those words of St. Paul,

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where,

(j) Script. Refut. p. 70, 71. (k) Script. Researches, p. 65. 66.

where, speaking of Onesimus, he says to Philemon his Master,—“ Whom I would have retained with me, that, in thy stead, he might have ministered unto me, in the bonds of the Gospel ; *but without thy mind would I do nothing*, that thy benefit should not be, as it were, of necessity, but *willingly* :” from the literal tenour of which one may safely conclude, without incurring the guilt of *interpolation* or *forgery*, that the Apostle tells Philemon, that, however inclined he had been to keep in his service his Slave Onesimus, he had resolved *to do nothing* of the kind *without his mind*, or, what comes to the same, that he was far from attempting to deprive him of Onesimus without his approbation and free consent.—The answer to the Second is likewise visibly contained in those other words to Philemon : “ Thou therefore receive him—not now as a servant but above a servant, a *brother* beloved especially to me, but how much more unto thee, both *in the flesh* and *in the Lord* :” in which he certainly acknowledges to Philemon, that Onesimus is *his own brother in Christ* or *in the Lord*; and that, though *especially beloved to himself*, as *having begotten him in his bonds*, ought yet to be *much more* so to Philemon, both because his brother *in the Lord*, and his Master *in the flesh*, in which sense he was *his property*, meliorated indeed by his conversion to Christianity ; which having raised him to the dignity of *his own brother in the Lord*, he now exhorts Philemon to treat him not as a common bond servant, but as a fellow-christian and a brother with particular indulgence and humanity. In which exhortation the Apostle seems evidently to allude to that humane Ordinance of the Almighty to his people, by which an Hebrew Master was enjoined *not to compel* his

his Hebrew slave to serve as a bond-servant, but only as an hired servant and a sojourner, and not to rule over him with rigour (l), though still a real Slave.

2d. It is said in the Researches, that Onesimus seems to have prevailed on St. Paul to write to his Master Philemon in his behalf (m). From these words, which are but a probable supposition of the Author's, Mr. Dannett eagerly concludes, for want of better proofs, "that Onesimus was only a *voluntary Slave* to Philemon; and that therefore, all that this Letter can possibly prove is the licitness of *voluntary Slavery*, which, says he, we will grant the Researcher (n)." But does not the Letter expressly say, that Onesimus, prior to his *supposed* application to St. Paul, which is not mentioned in the Letter, was a Slave to Philemon? Does not the Apostle acknowledge to Philemon, before his request in favour of Onesimus was granted, that Onesimus was certainly his Slave, and that he would not, on this account, retain him in his service *without his mind*, or, without the approbation of Philemon, whose property he was at the very time he was writing in his behalf? Is it not evident from the Apostle's own words, that his reason for writing to Philemon was to effect a reconciliation between him and Onesimus, who, afraid of returning to his Master after having defrauded him, might *probably* request the Apostle to write to him in his behalf, to forgive him the injury, and receive him again into favour? From what part then of the Apostle's Letter does Mr. Dannett so confidently conclude, that Onesimus was only a *voluntary Slave* to
X 2 Philemon?

(l) Levit. c. 25. vv. 39, 40. (m) Script. Researches, p. 62.

(n) Dannett, p. 116.

Philemon ? and *that all which this Letter can possibly prove is the licitness of VOLUNTARY Slavery ?* Neither can this groundless figment be deduced from the *probable supposition* of the Author of the Scriptural Researches, which, from the actual circumstances of Onesimus, seems to prove the very reverse : Onesimus, at the time of his *supposed* application to St. Paul, was a new Convert, and a good christian : consequently, sensible that he had acted very wrong in deserting his Master's service, could not but think himself bound in conscience to return, as a good christian, to his duty.

XIX. THE very unexpected, but orthodox, exposition of our Saviour's GOLDEN MAXIM of *Doing unto others as we would be done unto*, appears, from my angry Antagonists' invectives, to have entirely frustrated their most sanguine expectations of success, built on a fond misconception of that most equitable standard-rule of all reciprocal duties between man and man in every station in life. *Surely*, says the irascible Triumvirate speaking of the obnoxious Exposition, *so manifest a perversion of the precepts of Christ, never before disgraced the press. It is a despicable evasion, a wretched sophistry (o). It is an airy phantom*, exclaims the figurative Mr. Dannett, *a mere begging of the question (p).*—But what have they, after all, to oppose to the Researcher's exposition and application of the Maxim ? Nothing in fact, but a mere vicious circle, a mere begging of the question : *every man*, say they, *may reasonably object to his being forcibly reduced to a State of Slavery, though not to all the other natural and just subordinations and dependencies of* life

(o) Script. Refut. p. 75, 78. (p) Dannett, p. 120, 121.

life (q) ; and as no man would reasonably wish to be unjustly deprived of his liberty, to be forcibly transported from his native country, and to be afflicted and tormented by a fellow-creature in conveying him ; so no man ought unjustly to deprive a fellow-creature, &c. (r) ; where they evidently suppose what they ought first to prove, viz. that, enslaving a fellow-creature is itself unjust, and slavery is itself an unjust subordination : two propositions, the falsity of which has been fully demonstrated in my Scriptural Researches.

Miscellaneous

OBJECTIONS and STRICTURES.

XX. AMONG the very many sage decisions respecting the just objects of Traffic, exemplified by A's, B's, and C's, with which Mr. Dannett has enlightened the commercial world, I find, that this modern Solon has laid down as an undoubted maxim, " That no other persons whatever are just objects of the Slave-trade, but such, as, either sell themselves, or have, on account of their crimes, forfeited their liberties to the just laws of society ; and that no law can equitably inflict perpetual slavery upon innocent children, or upon an innocent mother for their father's offence (s)."

As the maxim is not limited either to time, place, or persons, it must embrace them all in their utmost extent.

(q) Script. Refut. p. 76. 77. (r) Dannett, p. 120.

(s) Dannett, p. 5, 3.

extent.—It follows then in the first place, that all the Slaves bought by the Hebrews, according to their law, of the heathen round about them, and of the Children of the Strangers that sojourned among them, and even their Children's Children, for they kept them in hereditary bondage (not to mention those they bought of their own brethren), did either sell themselves, or had forfeited their liberties to the just laws of the Heathen and Strangers on account of their crimes : as this is not only utterly improbable, and never intimated in the Sacred Writings, but absolutely false, at least, with respect to the innocent offspring of their Slaves ; it follows, that the Hebrews pursued a branch of Traffic, which, however expressly sanctioned by God, was yet *unjust and dishonest as to its objects (t)*. —It follows secondly, that the Slavery of the innocent Children of the Gibeonites living in Joshua's time, and that of the innocent mothers and children of their innocent posterity, however sanctioned by the Almighty, *was not equitably inflicted upon them*. —Here is a sample of the Abecedarian Jurisprudence of this Christian Lycurgus ?

XXI. THE Knowledge of the Character and Profession of the Author of the Scriptural Researches, both as a Roman Catholic, and once a happy Member of a late learned Society, is said by the shrewd Triumvirate *to have operated with them as a sort of comment on his work, to account for his unnatural attachment to Slavery (u)*, which is again attributed in another place to the principles of his Church ; or, in plain vulgar English, that *Slavery is inseparable from Popery*.—Now, to evince this most intimate and most inseparable

(t) Dannett, p. 5. (u) Script. Refut. p. 2.

parable connexion, they produce, at the close of their ingenious pamphlet, an evidence of that irrefragable authority, that it is not in the power of sophistry itself to elude it. To evince, I say, that *Slavery is inseparably connected with Popery*, they produce with great solemnity an *Authentic Latin Document* from no less a Personage than the very Head of the Church of Rome, even so far back as the 6th century, Pope GREGORY THE GREAT, in which that Sovereign Pontiff assigns his reasons for *granting liberty to his Slaves*(v).—And is not this a most convincing, a most incontestible and demonstrative proof, that Slavery is inherent in the Church of Rome? The argument is unanswerable:—*The Head of the Church of Rome grants liberty to his Slaves; therefore Slavery is inherent in the principles of that Church.*—I have only this one thing to observe with respect to the Latin Document, that the English translation of it would not have been half so *imperfect* and *false*, had the anonymous Translators been but one twelve months under the tuition of those Masters of classic literature, to whom the Author of the Researches is indebted for what little he knows. They would likewise have had another advantage; they would have been taught a degree of reverence for the Sacred Writings superior to what they seem to profess.

XXII. MR. W. HUGHES, who, for reasons best known to himself, though not very difficult to guess, has not even attempted to dispute the validity of any one argument enforced in support of the Slave-Trade from the testimonies of the New Testament, and sensible that his silence might be deemed a proof of conviction,

viction, or, at least, of inability to reply, gives the Author of the Researches something like a challenge, which, he flatters himself, will sufficiently screen his silence from censure and reproach.—“ That retaining
 “ the persons of men in a state of Slavery (*they are*
 “ *his words*) is a practice inconsistent with the Spirit
 “ of the Christian faith, and has generally been con-
 “ sidered as such, appears evident from this single
 “ fact; that Slavery hath actually been abolished by
 “ Christians in almost every part of Christendom.
 “ This is a stubborn fact, let the Researcher account
 “ for it, if he can, upon other principles. A milder
 “ species of Slavery is said to exist in Hungary, Po-
 “ land, and some other parts of the Russian Empire,
 “ in countries comparatively barbarous, who have
 “ little more of Christianity among them than the
 “ name (*w*).”

The inanity of this pompous and awkward challenge is so far from screening Mr. Hughes from censure and reproach, that, if ignorance be censurable and reproachful, he has certainly incurred them both; for, besides it appears from his own declaration, that a species of Slavery, not of the milder kind, as he is pleased to term it, but equal, if not superior, in hardships to that of the West Indies, actually exists in three very extensive Countries in Christendom, where they have, at least, so much of Christianity left, as to preserve a numerous Ecclesiastical Hierachy of Bishops and inferior Clergy, and attend the daily service of the Church regularly performed in public places, inferior in elegance to few of other Christian Countries; besides this, I say, are not the very Eu-
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ropean Nations who pursue the Slave-Trade very distinguished parts of Christendom? Are the West-Indies, the vast foreign dominions of France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, where that Trade is carried on, no part of Christendom? Where then is this stubborn fact, so confidently asserted by Mr. Hughes, that Slavery hath actually been abolished by Christians in almost every part of Christendom?—It will be time enough for the Researcher to account for the *stubborn fact*, when Mr. Hughes, has proved it to be a *fact*.

XXIII. THERE is a very remarkable passage in Mr. Dannett's motley performance, not unworthy the attention of the Reader. Displeased with the just encomiums which the Author of the Researches bestows on the irreproachable character of Abraham (x), he exults in having detected something in his conduct, which he thinks is extremely censurable: it is true, he afterwards informs us, that *he does not quote the circumstance with any satisfaction, as if he was pleased with detecting a blot in Abraham's character* (y); but the visible energy with which he animadverts on Abraham's conduct on the occasion, and the poignant enthusiasm with which he aggravates the situation and horrors of the suffering person, leave no room to doubt, that his *post-salvo* is a mere sneering grimace.—The Case, alluded to by Mr. Dannett, is the dismissal of Hagar mentioned in the XXIst Chapter of Genesis; on which, after relating only the latter part of the story, he thus comments:—"Here we find Abraham dismissing Hagar, who had committed no fault, the lawful partner of his bed, and

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(x) Dannett, p. 7, 136, 137, 139. (y) Dannett, p. 5.

“ by whom he had a son, *with necessity alone for her*
 “ *conductor*, into the scorching deserts of Arabia, with
 “ nothing but bread and a bottle of water ; exposed
 “ with that son of his to wild beasts, and robbers, and
 “ hunger : and this too, notwithstanding Abraham
 “ was exceedingly rich in flocks and herds, &c. We
 “ find Abraham putting the bottle of water on her
 “ shoulder, when an Ass to convey it would have
 “ been no great expence to him. Accordingly, as
 “ might be expected in a dry parched wilderness, we
 “ find her ready to perish through thirst together with
 “ her son (z).”

Leaving aside for a moment the whimsical circumstance of the intended fellow-traveller the Ass, there is every reason to conclude from the preceding circumstances mentioned in the Sacred Page, that the conduct of Abraham was especially directed by God himself.—*And Sarah*, says the Sacred Penman, *saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking. Wherefore she said unto Abraham : cast out this bond-woman and her son ; for the son of this bond-woman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac. And the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his son. And God said unto Abraham, let it not be grievous in thy sight, because of the lad, and because of the bond-woman : in all that Sarah hath said unto thee, hearken unto her voice ; for in Isaac shall thy seed be called. And also of the Son of the bond-woman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar, &c. (a) ;*

Here

(z) Dannett, p. 4, 5. (a) Gen: c. 21: vv. 9,—14, &c.

Here Abraham is expressly ordered by God to act by Sarah's directions : he is represented as being very much displeased, prior to that order, with Sarah's request. If then the dismissal only of Hagar and her son, if that was all that Sarah requested, was so very grievous in his sight, can it be supposed, consistently with common sense, and the constant humane tenour of his upright conduct, that the additional circumstance of dismissing them in the manner he did, was an act of his own, and not rather suggested by Sarah, whose counsel the Almighty had ordered him to follow, pledging his sacred word that he would protect them, as he did ? Neither is there the least intimation given in Scripture, that they had committed no fault : on the contrary, Sarah's complaint, joined to the Almighty's words to Abraham, seems to intimate some unjust claims of theirs to the Heirship, injurious to Isaac's right.—Beside, the word in the Original, rendered in the Translation by that of *Mocking*, may, and does sometimes, import a very heinous crime.—I mention this last particular only to indulge Mr. Dannett's taste, and whet his appetite with a little snack of Hebrew.

And now we come to the circumstance of the As's, which the humane Mr. Dannett wonders very much, that so rich a man as Abraham did not afford the lawful partner of his bed, that he might convey her progue.—But I should imagine, with submission to Mr. Dannett's discernment, that the addition of such a Carrier, whom she would have been obliged to keep out of her own provisions, being unable to feed himself in a dry parched wilderness, and no other fother being provided for him by Mr. Dannett, would have

been the height of cruelty in Abraham ; since he must certainly have contributed in a considerable proportion to lighten his own burthen at the expence of his fellow-travellers bellies.—I really wonder, how such an obvious observation could ever escape Mr. Dannett's *provident*, though it seems not the most *previ-*
dent, penetration.

XXIV. ONE observation more will close this miscellaneous paragraph. Whoever has perused Mr. Dannett's Pamphlet, must have seen the Author of the Scriptural Researches loaded with infamy and reproach in almost every page : for, besides he is compared to a persecuting Demon, and his Researches are said to be as infectious as the Writings of Spinoza, Hobbes, and Machiavel, Morgan, Reynal, and Gibon (*b*), the religious principles of his Church, though perfectly unconnected with the subject in debate, are frequently reflected upon with the most intemperate acrimony, and in terms and language full as ignorant as indecent. So blind indeed is the furious zeal that agitates the fiery Minister of St. John's against the Author of the Researches, that in an unlucky paroxysm, as he is exhausting the very dregs of his splenetic humour against him, he does unfortunately involve all his Reverend Brethren, *that respectable Body of the Protestant English Clergy*, of whose honour he seemed so very zealous at first (*c*), in what he deems to be the highest dishonour and reproach. In effect, in one of his *very learned* Notes he has the following words :—*In one thing, however, these Gentlemen perfectly con-*
cur ; in making History the vehicle of their hostility to
Religion.

(*b*) Dannett, p. 1, 2, Pref. p. 105, 106.

(*c*) Dannett, Advertisement.

Religion. Not so the best Historians ; not so a Bacon, a Clarendon, and a Grotius. They never insulted THE BENEVOLENT RELIGION, though unadorned with the elegant mythology of the Greeks, with illiberal insinuation and cold contempt ; and yet, they were wits and philosophers, and men of the world ; and fortunately none of them PRIESTS ! (d)—The compliment paid by the Rev. Mr. Henry Dannett to the respectable Body of the Protestant English Clergy, as well as to himself, who are constantly distinguished in their Canons and Liturgy by this honourable TITLE of sacred preeminence, needs no comment !

REMARKS on the ORIGINAL CLAIM of the EUROPEANS to the AFRICAN SLAVE- TRADE.

XXV. **THOUGH** the arguments enforced in the series of the Scriptural Researches, and the answers to my antagonists objections given in this Review, are abundantly sufficient to prove, that the Slave-Trade, unattended with real abuses, is absolutely just and lawful in its nature, and may lawfully be pursued by Christians, without confining the prosecution of it to any particular spot or country ; yet, to gratify the curiosity of my antagonists, who, in almost every page of their clamorous productions, seem to express a sneering anxiety to find some reason of congruity for the prosecution of the present AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE,

(d) Dannett, p. 106.

TRADE, I think it expedient, though unnecessary in every respect for the justification of it, to close this ARTICLE with a few remarks on the subject, occasioned in fact by a circumstance of very material import incautiously mentioned by Mr. Dannett : a circumstance, which, if examined with some attention, may perhaps prove of some disservice to his Cause.

XXVI. AFTER informing us in page 76, that “ the Gibeonites were descendants of Canaan (the grand-son of Noah), whom God destined to servitude by the prophetic mouth of Noah, Gen. c. ix. v. 25 ; which prophecy was accomplished by Joshua ;” he declares in page 81, that “ had the Author of the Researches evinced, that the Negroes are descendants of Canaan, and so prophetically devoted to servitude, as were the Gibeonites ; and that the modern Slave-holders are the instruments destined by Providence to execute that prophecy, as was Joshua ; yet, this whole body of proof would be favourable only to Slavery, but totally irrelevant to the Slave-Trade ; Slavery and the Slave-Trade being essentially distinct ideas.”—Let us examine this point with some attention.

XXVII. THAT the Gibeonites were descendants of Canaan, and that God, by the prophetic mouth of Noah, devoted the descendants of Canaan to servitude or bondage, is undoubtedly warranted by the sacred Oracles of the Word of God ; not so, that Noah's prophecy was accomplished by Joshua in the persons of the Gibeonites. The Gibeonites were only a branch of the descendants of Canaan, and were certainly in the number of those Nations, which, as de-
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clared in the Sacred Annals, were devoted by the Almighty not to *Servitude*, but to certain *Death*: the *servitude*, to which the Gibeonites were afterwards consigned, has been fully proved in the Scriptural Researches, to have been the sole act and deed of Joshua, and not a divine commutation of their original sentence of proscription, the only one ever denounced against them by the Almighty. Accordingly, the prophecy of Noah was fulfilled, when, after the destruction of the seven devoted Nations, the Israelites *bought bond-men and bond-maids of the heathen round about them*, who were also descendants of Canaan.

XXVIII. MR. DANNETT grants, and so does every body else, that the Israelites were the very persons, by whom Noah's prophecy was to be accomplished, and was accomplished in fact: and that their *Original Claim* or *Title* to that prerogative was no other but their being the Descendants of SHEM, Noah's second son, whose servants the Canaanites were to be according to the express words of the prophecy. But this prerogative, as appears from the very words of the same prophecy, was by no means confined to the Israelites or the Descendants of Shem, but extended equally to the Descendants of JAPHETH, Noah's eldest son: the words of the prophecy are equally applied to both:—*And Noah*, says the inspired writer, *awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him; and he said: Cursed be Canaan; A SERVANT OF SERVANTS SHALL HE BE UNTO HIS BRETHREN. And he said: Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; AND CANAAN SHALL BE HIS SERVANT. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents*

tents of Shem; AND CANAAN SHALL BE HIS SERVANT (e).

XXIX. COULD we now be so fortunate, as to prove to the satisfaction of every intelligent Reader, that EUROPE was the portion allotted to the Descendants of Japheth, and AFRICA to those of Canaan, the discovery, I flatter myself, would add no small weight of congruity to the prosecution of the present African Slave-Trade: it would evince, at least, that the concurrent conduct of the Europeans in pursuing this branch of Traffic in that particular Region, preferably to any other, is not without a good foundation; since no trace is found in the Sacred Writings, that the Descendants of Japheth ever before asserted their unquestionable prerogative, or enjoyed the fruits of that hereditary Legacy, which was left to them in their Father's name, as did the Descendants of Shem.

XXX. IN the very succinct account given by the Sacred Annalist of the different portions of the World allotted to the three Children of Noah, SHEM, JAPHETH, and HAM the father of CANAAN, *by whom were the Nations divided in the earth after the flood* (f), no mention is made of the Continent of AMERICA: indeed, there appears no vestige of this portion of the World in any part of the Sacred Writings: ASIA, EUROPE, and AFRICA are the three great Scriptural Divisions of the World including the adjacent ISLES. That Asia was the portion allotted to Shem and his Descendants, appears in many places of Holy Writ, and very particularly in those repeated promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and

(e) Gen. c. 9. vv. 24,—28. (f) Gen. c. 10, v. 72.

and Jacob, descendants of Shem, that their posterity should possess the Land of Canaan in ASIA, as they certainly did. It is likewise evident from the Mosaic account, that AFRICA was the portion allotted to Ham and his Descendants; for it is visible, that his Son MIZRAIM gave his name to both the Egypts, and that his descendants inhabited that part of the continent of AFRICA. Moreover his grand-son SIDON, eldest Son of Canaan, gave in like manner his name to the Capital of SIDONIA or PHENICIA, his Colony extending, as the Sacred Writer expresses it, *from Sidon as thou comest to Gerar unto Gaza, as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lashab* (g), which Sidonian Establishment became in time the grand nursery of those numerous Colonies of Canaanites that settled in the vast territories of Africa, visible in the very names of the ancient Towns of that Continent, which are Phenician or Sidonian words.

XXXI. SHEM and HAM being thus portioned, EUROPE, the remaining part of the general division, known in Scripture by *The Isles of the Gentiles*, must necessarily fall to the Lot of JAPHETH: accordingly we find, that the inspired Writer, after having made a particular enumeration of the Children of JAPHETH, several of whose names were the ancient names of different divisions of Europe, concludes thus:—*By these* (the Children of Japheth) *were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands: every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations* (b). The remotest antiquity, the oldest Historians, and Interpreters of the Sacred Books, all unanimously agree,

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(g) Gen. c. 10. v. 19. (b) Gen. c. 10. v. 5.

and it has been the constant uniform opinion of the learned world, and the immemorial tradition of all ages, that Japheth or his Descendants settled in Europe, as did the Descendants of Canaan in Africa, and those of Shem in Asia : nor is there one distinguished Interpreter or sacred Geographer, who, in explaining the Mosaic Division of the Earth among the three Children of Noah, does not assign to each of them the above respective Lots, however they may differ in their opinions with regard to their ancient limits and extent.

XXXII. THIS interesting point of sacred history being thus far ascertained much beyond the power of Mr. Dannett's criticism ever to confute it ; let us now resume our argument, and see what conclusion we may be allowed to draw in favour of the Slave-Trade carried on by the Europeans with the Inhabitants of Africa ; that is, by the Descendants of Japheth with the Canaanites of Africa. Mr. Dannett asserts ; that *this whole body of proof is favourable only to Slavery, but totally irrelevant to the Slave-Trade.* He means, consistently with his own declaration, that it can only prove, that the Descendants of Japheth, or the Europeans, may lawfully reduce to Slavery the Inhabitants of Africa in the same manner as Joshua did the Inhabitants of Gibeon ; but may not lawfully buy them as Slaves, any more than Joshua bought the Gibeonites ; *because, says he, Slavery and the Slave-Trade are essentially distinct ideas.*

This, I must confess, is what I never expected to hear from such an enthusiastic Advocate for African Liberty.—All then that Mr. Dannett so vehemently reprobates

destruction of the seven devoted Nations, the Israelites, as Descendants of Shem, *bought bond-men and bond-maids of the heathen round about them*, who were also Descendants of Canaan ; so the same prophecy may be accomplished by the Europeans, as Descendants of Japheth, purchasing bond-men and bond-maids from the Inhabitants of Africa, who are also Descendants of Canaan, and declared by the same prophetic mouth of Noah to be destined by the Almighty to the service of the Descendants of Japheth, as were the Canaanites bought by the Descendants of Shem to the service of the latter.

A R T I C L E I I I .

STRICTURES *on* some IRREVERENT ASSERTIONS, *and* EXCEPTIONABLE POINTS of DOCTRINE, *collected from the* PUBLICATIONS *examined in this* REVIEW.

I. THE religious Reader, who has perused the two preceding Articles, cannot wonder at the Title of this. - He must have observed in some of my antagonists objections a visible tendency to strip the human heart of every restraint of Religion, under the plausible pretence of defending the rights of Reason, Justice, and Humanity. What has been but sketched in the two former Articles, will be fully exhibited in this : in which, without arranging the Subjects with
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the strictest regularity of order, of which they are scarce susceptible, I shall examine, in as succinct a manner as I can, such particular Assertions and Points of Doctrine, as I think deserve the highest censure.

IRREVERENT ASSERTIONS *highly derogatory*
to some SCRIPTURAL CHARACTERS.

II. THE wanton and unhallowed freedom, with which, as hinted in the preceding Article, the Characters of Abraham and Joseph have been treated by Messrs. Dannett and Hughes (*i*), favours too much of impiety, not to attribute it to what every Christian ought to detest,—a design to depreciate the merit of such Models of piety, as are every where represented in the Sacred Writings undeserving censure and reproach.

III. THIS impious design is not even disguised by the anonymous Refuters. The venerable characters of Jacob and Moses are treated with such contempt, and so prophanely sported with, as if registered in the Sacred Books for the sole purpose of pleasant buffoonery : both are represented by the anonymous Infidels as two fraudulent Impostors. *Fraud and deceit*, say they, *were the foundations of Jacob's greatness ; and the Israelites abused the confidence of the Egyptians, and deprived them of their Jewels, by an express command of their great Law-giver (j)*. It is hard to determine which of the two, *ignorance or impiety*, be the most predominant

(*i*) Page, 149, 177, &c. (*j*) Script. Refut. p. 14.

predominant in this groundless charge.—Let us examine separately the facts they produce in justification of it.

1st. JACOB, say they, *under pretence of a purchase, defrauded Esau of his birth-right.* 2d. *To compleat this first piece of treachery, he was induced, by a contrivance of the most artful nature, to obtain from his Father Isaac, the blessing of the first born, to the wrong and prejudice of his elder brother.* 3d. *He defrauded Laban his father-in-law by a Stratagem which he put in execution (k).*

I. THE libellous nature of these allegations is the less excusable, as it is in direct opposition to the very letter and spirit of the Word of God : where there is no intimation given in the first place of any such fraudulent pretence, as is laid to Jacob's charge.—The Scriptural account is simply this : “ Jacob sod
“ pottage, and Esau came from the field, and was
“ faint : and Esau said to Jacob ; feed me, I pray
“ thee, with the same red pottage, for I am faint.—
“ And Jacob said : sell me this day thy birth-right.
“ And Esau said : behold, I am at the point to die,
“ and what profit shall this birth-right do to me ?
“ And Jacob said ; swear to me this day : and he
“ sware unto him ; and he sold his birth-right unto
“ Jacob. Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage
“ of lentiles, and he did eat and drink, and rose up,
“ and went his way : *thus Esau despised his birth-*
“ *right (l).*” Now, supposing for a moment, that Esau, as the first born of Isaac, had the right of primogeniture, there is no intimation given in this account
of

(k) Script. Refut. p. 13, 14. (l) Gen. c. 25. vv. 29,—34.

of any fraudulent pretence on the part of Jacob.—Esau knew, as well as Jacob, the advantages attached to that right. Jacob offers to buy it : *sell me this day* says he, *thy birth-right* : the words are neither fraudulent nor deceitful ; they are the words of a fair plain dealing man. Esau knew what he offered for it ; and accordingly, he sells it to him for a pottage of lentiles. Esau then was not defrauded by Jacob of his birth-right ; unless a person can be said to be defrauded with his own consent. Indeed, the Scripture is so far from condemning Jacob, or taxing him with any fraud or double-dealing, that Esau is the only person, whose conduct is highly censured both in the words just quoted, and in another place, where he is called *a prophane person*, for selling so sacred a right *for one morsel of meat* (m).

2. I said, supposing for a moment that Esau had the right of primogeniture : for, it is evident in the second place, that the Scripture favours no such right, however apparent it might be both to Esau and to others who viewed him in the quality of first-born : because before he was born, the right of primogeniture was certainly given to Jacob by the Almighty himself, who declared to Rebekah their mother, that *the elder should serve the younger*, which preeminence was undoubtedly a very principal part of that Right : *And the Lord said unto her*, says the inspired Writer, *two Nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels ; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people ; and the Elder shall serve the Younger* (n) : which declaration is quite decisive in favour of Jacob's right agreeably to

(m) Hebrews, c. 12. (n) Gen. c. 25: v. 23.

to the literal interpretation of it given by St. Paul in the following words: *When Rebekah also had conceived by one, even by our Father Isaac (for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth); it was said unto her, The Elder shall serve the Younger; as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated (o).* Now, in consequence of this divine declaration, it is manifest, that Jacob might use every lawful expedient to enter into the possession of his Right of primogeniture, and obtain from his Father the blessing of the first-born, without any prejudice to his Elder brother, who never had any right to that blessing.

Neither can Jacob be justly taxed with the guilt of lying, when, prior to that blessing, he assured his Father Isaac, that *he was Esau his first-born (p)*; for he certainly was his first-born, by right divine, whom, under the name of Esau, whose place he held by divine appointment and *election*, Isaac meant to bless. The same form of speech was used by our Blessed Saviour, who was TRUTH itself (*q*), respecting John the Baptist, whom he declared *to be Elias*; not meaning, that he was the same identical person with that Prophet, but only, that he had the same prophetic spirit and office as Elias: *For all the prophets, says he, and the law prophesied until John: and if ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come (r)*; and can it be said without the highest blasphemy, that this expression

(o) Rom. c. 9. vv. 10,—14. (p) Gen. 27. 19.

(q) John, 14. 6. (r) Matt. 11. 13, 14.

expression similar to that of Jacob, implies the most distant opposition to the strictest truth?

3. The third allegation against Jacob is as malicious and false, as are the former two; for the very stratagem, which he is said to have put in execution, and thereby defrauded Laban his father-in-law, is expressly declared in the Sacred Page to have been approved of by the Almighty, who made it succeed beyond all human appearance, in order to indemnify the faithful Patriarch for the long services he had rendered to his unjust father-in-law: “Ye know, *said Jacob to his wives*, that with all my power I have served your father: and your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me.—And the Angel of the Lord spake unto me in a dream, saying, Jacob: and I said, here am I. And he said, lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the rams which leap upon the cattle are ring-streaked, speckled, and griskled: *for I have seen all that Laban doth unto thee*. I am the God of Bethel, &c. (s).”

4. Nor is the daring imputation on Moses better grounded than those on Jacob: the Scripture contradicts it in the most explicit terms. It was not by the express command of their great Law-giver Moses, as is impiously advanced by the anonymous Refuters, that the Israelites abused the confidence of the Egyptians, and deprived them of their jewels: but God himself, the Sovereign Master and Proprietor of all earthly goods, who can at pleasure transfer the dominion of them from one person to another, and from

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(s) Gen. c. 31. vv. 6—13,

one nation to another, was the Great Law-giver, by whose express command the Israelites acted in the Case, on which is grounded this very impious charge : —“ I will stretch out my hand, *said the Almighty to Moses*, and smite Egypt with all my wonders, which I will do in the midst thereof : and after that he will let you go. And *I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians*, and it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, *ye shall not go empty* : but every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment : and ye shall put them upon your sons and daughters ; and *ye shall spoil the Egyptians (t).*” Here is a very explicit and formal transfer of the Egyptians property made over by divine authority to the Children of Israel, probably to compensate in part the wrongs and injuries they had suffered during their long and unjust captivity. Where then is the abuse of confidence, where the fraud ?

IV. ANOTHER crime of a very heinous complexion, not less indeed than Murder, is laid to the charge of Moses by the pious Mr. Hughes : *Moses*, says he, *had been guilty of shedding human blood (u)*. As he pronounces him *guilty*, he must necessarily suppose, that he had no authority for *slaying the Egyptian, whom he spied smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren (w)*. It gives me pain to find a Teacher of Religion so very little acquainted with the character and commission of Moses, as to have no better authority for impeaching him as a man of blood, than that ignorant and quarrelsome Hebrew, who, being rebuked by Moses

for.

(t) Exod. c. 3. vv. 20—22. (u) Hughes, p. 15.

(w) Exod. 2. 11, 12.

for *doing wrong to his brother*, had nothing better to alledge in justification of his conduct, than to reproach him with the murder of the Egyptian nearly in the same language as does Mr. Hughes (x). But if Mr. Hughes does not reject the authority of the Book of Acts, I will just quote a few words, which will be sufficient to convince him, that Moses had authority from God for doing what he did, and must therefore be acquitted of the crime, which he so daringly lays to his charge: the words are too plain to need any comment: they are the following:—"And Moses
 " was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and
 " was mighty in words and in deeds. And when he
 " was full forty years old, it came into his heart to
 " visit his brethren, the Children of Israel. And see-
 " ing one of them suffer wrong, he defended him,
 " and avenged him that was oppressed, and smote the
 " Egyptian: *for he supposed his brethren would have*
 " *understood, how that God by his hand would deliver*
 " *them: but they understood not.* And the next day
 " he shewed himself unto them, as they strove, and
 " would have set them at one again, saying; Sirs, ye
 " are brethren, why do ye wrong one to another? But
 " he that did his neighbour wrong, thrust him away,
 " saying, Who made thee a ruler, and a judge over
 " us? Wilt thou kill me, as thou didst the Egyptian
 " yesterday? (y)."

V. ANOTHER Scriptural Character, though inferior in dignity to the former, is designedly vilified by the anonymous Refuters, in direct opposition to the very letter of the Scripture, with no other view, it seems, but to stigmatize the present African Slave-Trade.

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(x) Exod. c. 2. vv. 13, 14. (y) Acts, c. 7. vv. 22—29.

The inhabitants of Egypt, say they, enjoyed the four-fifths of the produce of the land; their countrymen in modern times are not allowed one fiftieth. PHARAOH we are told was hard of heart. What then shall we think of the present system of Slavery? (z). As we have no reason to doubt that their information respecting the allowance of the West-India Slaves is as authentic as that which they give us concerning the character of Pharaoh; we may easily judge from the latter what to think of the former. It is an absolute falsehood, that the Pharaoh, whom the Scripture declares to have been hard of heart, was the same Pharaoh to whom the Refuters apply that odious character. There is not a tittle in the Sacred Records, that favours the charge: on the contrary, every part of Pharaoh's conduct under the administration of Joseph, seems to prove the very reverse. But the Scripture is too explicit on the subject to need any comment: it is there expressly mentioned, that the hard-hearted Pharaoh had not even known Joseph, though he continued in office during the course of eighty years, and that he was hard of heart not against the Egyptians his subjects, but against the Israelites his captives. There arose up, says the sacred Penman, a new King over Egypt, which knew not Joseph; and he said unto his people: behold, the people of the Children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest, &c. Therefore they did set over them task-masters to afflict them with their burthens; and they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, &c. (a)— Infamous indeed must be that Cause, which cannot be supported without a manifest perversion of the Book of Truth! Had the anonymous Refuters entitled their

(z) Script. Refut. p. 42, 43. (a) Exod. c. 1. vv. 8—12.

their Publication—*A Refutation of Scripture*, instead of *A Scriptural Refutation*, the Title, I am confident, would have exactly corresponded with their design.

ANIMADVERSIONS on some EXCEPTIONABLE POINTS of DOCTRINE.

VI. IT seems, that Mr. Hughes, sensible of the criminality of his imputation on the Characters of Joseph and Moses, the first of whom he declares *guilty of the worst action upon record*, and the second *of wilful murder (b)*; wants to extenuate the severity of his censure, by a *precious mode of reasoning*, which, however contrary to every declaration of the Word of God, he deems consistent with the strictest casuistry. Every sensible man, says he, *sees in both these instances of Joseph and Moses, that their numberless good qualities attoned for their faults, and that God graciously overlooked some crimes committed by his most faithful Servants, even though those crimes were really heinous in themselves (c)*. In what part of the Sacred Writings Mr. Hughes may have found this most surprising piece of CONVENIENT doctrine, is more than I can guess. There is only one place, and that in the Book of WISDOM, which is not in the Protestant Canon, where God is said *to wink at the sins of men for the sake of repentance (d)*; but he is never represented either in that Book or in any part of the Sacred Writings, as overlooking the atrocious crimes of murder and the worst action upon record, on account of the

(b) Hughes, p. 14, 15. (c) Hughes, p. 15.

(d) Wisdom, c. 11. v. 24.

the good qualities of the perpetrators of such enormities. He is every where represented, as *The Holy One, who is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look on iniquity (e)*; as One, *with whom there is no respect of persons, but will render to every one according to his deeds (f)*: he is represented, to mention one instance for all, inflicting a severe punishment on David for his double crime of adultery and murder, notwithstanding his numberless good qualities, on account of which he was declared *a man after God's own heart (g)*: in a word, he is always represented immutably impartial in the distribution of his justice both to the wicked and to the most faithful of his servants.

To say then with Mr. Hughes, that any number of good qualities will atone for succeeding crimes even of the deepest dye, and that God has graciously overlooked such heinous crimes merely on account of those good qualities, is a doctrine highly derogatory to the essential holiness of God: a doctrine subversive of every principle of true morality: in a word, it is encouraging the commission of the worst of crimes upon the impious principle of *compounding sins* with heaven; so many acts, for instance, of extortion, of murder, of adultery, &c. for so many prior acts of charity, of patience, forgiveness, and the like.

VII. A very singular point of doctrine is objected by Mr. Ramsay to a declaration of the Author of the Scriptural Researches, "That the inspired Writers of
"the New Testament never *considered* the Slave-
"Trade

(e) Habakkuk, c. 1. vv. 12, 13. (f) Colos. c. 3. v. 25.

Rom. 2. 6. (g) I. Sam. 13. 14.

“Trade as an infraction of any of the principles or moral precepts of the Gospel (*b*):”—*Nor did these*, replies Mr. Ramsay, *declare their own persecution for righteousness sake to be an infraction of the principles of the Gospel (i)*. Without insisting now on the visible impropriety of this retorsion, which, to be in opposition with the Author’s assertion, ought to have been—*Nor did these consider*, instead of—*Nor did these declare*, which would have entirely defeated Mr. Ramsay’s purpose; the retorsion, as worded by him, contains a point of Doctrine in direct opposition to several declarations of Scripture, where persecution for righteousness sake is said to be a crime in the persecutor, implying a manifest infraction of the principles of the Gospel. For brevity’s sake, I shall quote but one, and that of the most unexceptionable kind; being that of one of the principal Inspired Writers of the New Testament, who had been himself a persecutor, and was afterwards a persecuted Apostle:—*I thank Christ Jesus our Lord*, says the great Apostle of the Gentiles, *who hath enabled me; for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry, who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious; but I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief (k)*. If this is not sufficient to convince Mr. Ramsay, that persecution for righteousness sake is declared in the New Testament to be an infraction of the principles of the Gospel, he must necessarily maintain, that to be a blasphemer and injurious, inseparable from the character of a persecutor of Christianity, are no where declared in the New Testament to be an infraction of the principles of the Gospel.

VIII. IT

(*b*) Script. Researches, p. 53. (*i*) Ramsay, p. 24.

(*k*) I. Tim. 1. 12, 13.

VIII. It is said in the Researches, that “ the intrinsic morality or immortality, licitness or illicitness of all human pursuits is essentially inherent to the pursuits themselves, and does not depend at all on our ideas of right and wrong, which are but too often influenced by prejudice, interest, and other passions: *and again*; that the declarations of the Written Word of God are so many incontrovertible decisions, by which we are to judge of the intrinsic licitness or illicitness of such facts, as are registered in the Sacred Volumes (1).” To impugn this orthodox position Mr. Dannett has advanced two very singular propositions: the first of which is a mere insipid phraseology, and the second a positive condemnation of the decisive authority of the Written Word of God. The first is, that *Scriptural decisions relative to morals, when properly understood, and justly limited, will never contradict our ideas of right and wrong*: which is the same as to say, that if our ideas of the morality of such decisions are just and proper, because we understand those decisions both justly and properly, our ideas of right and wrong relative to the object of those decisions will never be contradicted by them: or, in other words, that if our ideas of right and wrong and those decisions agree with each other, they will never contradict each other.—And is not this a most profound theological discovery?

The second proposition is, that *if Scriptural decisions should appear to contradict our ideas of Right and Wrong, we still are bound to follow those ideas: and the reason is, because we cannot be so certain, that we rightly understand, and justly limit those Scriptural decisions,* as

(1) Script. Researches, p. 6, Pref.

as we are of our own ideas of Right and Wrong, and of our obligation to act up to them (m). This profligate position once admitted, the following impious consequences must be admitted likewise. 1st. That, unless the unerring decisions of the Word of God, respecting the morality or immorality of any particular act, do exactly coincide with our own ideas of right and wrong respecting that very act, we are still bound to follow the latter, and reject the former, though we believe the former to be essentially true, and our own ideas to be subject to error through ignorance, prejudice, interest, and other passions. 2d. That, whenever Scriptural decisions appear to contradict our own ideas of right and wrong, the presumption with respect to truth and justice is in favour of the latter, however these may be biased and darkened by ignorance, prejudice, interest, and other passions. 3d. That our ideas of right and wrong, however contrary to the express declarations of the Word of God, however different from, and, in many instances, even opposite to, those of other men, are yet true and just ideas, both in them and in us, of the intrinsic morality or immorality of our pursuits, and ought therefore to be followed in opposition to the unerring decisions of the Word of God, from whatever cause this contrariety may proceed, whether from ignorance, prejudice, interest, or other passions. 4th. That the incontrovertible decisions of the Word of God, respecting the morality or immorality of human acts, are not to be admitted as any real direction to regulate our moral conduct, but as far as they do not contradict our own ideas; however these may be perverted and darkened by ignorance, prejudice, interest, and

B b

other

other passions : that is, that they are not to be admitted as any direction at all.

Neither can the force of these impious, but necessary consequences, be eluded by the reason assigned by Mr. Dannett in support of his second proposition ; which can have no manner of weight, unless Mr. Dannett can prove, that it is the same thing, as he seems to insinuate, *to be certain of one's own ideas of right and wrong, and to be certain that the ideas we have are true and just ideas of right and wrong.* Till Mr. Dannett has effectually proved this false and untenable position, the four preceding consequences must remain in full force, and cannot but convince the world, that the Doctrine, from which they necessarily follow, is a false, is an impious doctrine, condemning in the most positive and daring terms the decisive divine authority of the Written Word of God.

IX. A-KIN to this unchristian doctrine are the two following positions, visibly tending to depreciate the divine authenticity of the Sacred Writings, and expressed in formal words in the Scriptural Refutation : where it is said in the first place, *that the decisions of the Old and New Testaments are not of equal authority, for that the former is always controlled by the latter ;* and secondly, *that implicitly to acknowledge the Scriptures as equally and invariably true, is one of those narrow restraints of the Church of Rome, which the Protestant Churches have discarded (n).* The insidious tendency of the first being already demonstrated in the II^d ARTICLE of this Review (o) ; I shall now make a few strictures on the second.

1. To

(n) Script. Refut. p. 18. (o) Review, p. 136.

1. To say, that the Protestant Churches have discarded this *pretended* narrow restraint, means, no doubt, that every Protestant Church has actually discarded it. Now, besides this is an absolute falsehood; the very doctrine thus condemned by these *pretended* Protestants, is evidently implied in the VIth, of the XXXIX ARTICLES of the Church of England by law established : which as far as concerns this subject, it reads thus :—*Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation : so that whatsoever is not read therein, or may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation :* the necessary converse of which is this,—*That whatsoever is read therein, or may be proved thereby, is to be required of every man, that it should be believed as an Article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.* Here it is certainly required of every member of the Protestant Church of England implicitly to acknowledge the Scriptures as equally and invariably true ; for *it is required of every man, that whatsoever is read therein, or may be proved thereby, should be believed as an Article of Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation :* which the Church of England could not require of any one of her communion, if she did not acknowledge that the Holy Scriptures were equally and invariably true.—To what description of Protestants the anonymous Refuters may belong is best known to themselves ; they can have no pretensions, at least, to that of the Church of England.

2. But the proposition itself, independently of the above false decision, is impious in the extreme, and

has a manifest tendency to depreciate the divine authenticity of the Sacred Writings : for, *if these are not equally and invariably true*, as they assert ; it follows necessarily, that some part or parts of Holy Scripture are not as true as others, and that all of them are variable in point of truth : that is, that no part of them is the unerring Word of God ; for he is invariably True and Truth itself in all his Words.

X. ANOTHER very obnoxious point of doctrine, which I cannot suffer to pass unnoticed, is the reason assigned by Mess. Dannett and Hughes for the silence of Christ and his Apostles on the pretended illicitness of the Slave-Trade, or for not condemning the prosecution of it in any part of the Sacred Writings of the New Law.—“ The divine Saviour, *says Mr. Hughes*, trusted the abolition of Slavery to the benign principles of his Religion : had he commanded himself an instant abolition of it, or given it in charge to his disciples so to do, he would have prejudiced the minds of men against the Christian faith, which attempted to deprive them of what they then thought their property. His disciples, having no positive command in this case, would have been unskilful advocates for his Religion by proclaiming to the world, that men must not only give up their vices, but also great part of what they considered as their property, in order to their admission : St. Paul, in particular, who knew the world, and was a man of address, had too must judgment to risque the very existence of Christianity by making such claims upon men, as he was confident would not be granted (*p*).” Mr. Dannett goes still farther : “ Had

(*p*) Hughes, p. 28, 29, 30, 31.

“ Had Christ and his Apostles, *says he*, condemned
 “ the Slave-Trade, **which, as** practised in their time,
 “ was, in general, **unjust and cruel**, and yet was esta-
 “ blished by the laws of civil Society ; such conduct
 “ would at once have annihilated the Religion of
 “ Jesus,—and so would have defeated his inten-
 “ tion of coming into the world. The small
 “ grain of mustard-seed would have been rooted up
 “ as soon as it was sown : for the princes of the earth
 “ would probably have united their collective powers
 “ to suppress Christianity, as a Religion inimical to
 “ civil government, and hostile to the established rights
 “ of men.—And we find, in fact, this to be the reason
 “ assigned by the inspired Writers themselves (who
 “ appear always fearful of exciting the jealousy of
 “ Civil Governors) for the obedience of Slaves to
 “ their Masters, viz. that the name of God, and his
 “ doctrine, might not be blasphemed, I. Tim. vi. i.
 “ (q).”

The profligacy of this insidious doctrine is an open
 attack on the divine establishment of Christianity.
 In effect, it makes the Religion of Christ to be a
 mere human political Institution, a mere time-serving
 Religion. The divine Founder of it, and his Apostles,
 are impiously represented as temporizing with the
 vices of men, for the sake of establishing a Religion,
 which could not have succeeded, according to this
 doctrine, had every precept of it been fully explained :
 a Religion, of course, that owes its existence, not to
the power and wisdom of God (r), but to the sagacity
 of human prudence, which induced its Author to
 conceal from his followers the knowledge of what he
 knew

(q) Dannett, p. 101—103. (r) I. Corinth, 1. 24.

knew to be highly criminal, and to indulge the practice of injustice and cruelty established by the laws of civil society, rather than not to gain proselytes to his standard.—Never did a Porphyry or a Celsus make a ruder attack on the divinity of the Christian System, than does the doctrine of my two Antagonists.

No :—neither Christ nor his Apostles were ever actuated by any such disgraceful fears, as are impiously attributed to them. They preached, and preached without fear, doctrines much more disrelishing to the world, than might probably be the illicitness of the Slave-Trade. The practices of polygamy, of divorces, of polytheism, were as much established by the laws of civil society, as might be that of the Slave-Trade; and they interfered with the civil government, and the established rights of men, much more extensively than did the Slave-trade; yet, did not Christ and his Apostles inveigh against the lawfulness of such practices by law established, without fear or apprehension of *risquing the very existence of Christianity by making such claims upon their bearers?* Without fear or apprehension, that *their conduct would at once annihilate their Religion, and defeat the intention of the Son of God coming into the World?* Without fear or apprehension, that *the small grain of mustard-seed would be rooted up as soon as it was sown?* Without fear or apprehension, that *the princes of the earth would probably unite their collective powers to suppress Christianity, as a Religion inimical to civil Government, and hostile to the established rights of men?* Yes, they did: because it was not in the power of all the collective forces of the earth to root up the small grain of mustard-seed; which, though *the least of all seeds,*

seeds, being sowed by the hand of God, could not fail becoming a tree (*s*), against the united efforts of *the gates of hell* (*t*).

Neither is the reason assigned by St. Paul for the obedience of Slaves to their Masters, viz. *that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed*, any sanction to the profligacy of the above doctrine: for, as we have already observed in the Researches, agreeably to the literal tenour of that expression, the Apostle does thereby enforce the dutiful deportment of Christian Slaves to their unbelieving Masters, *lest these, seeing the contrary deportment in their Christian Slaves, attribute their insolent, disrespectful, and disobedient conduct to the principles and doctrine of their Religion, and thus bring reproach and infamy upon both* (*u*); which has not the least affinity with the above obnoxious doctrine.

XI. I have, I think, sufficiently exposed in the series of this Review, the delusive impositions of my Opponents, the inefficacy of their objections, and the insidious tendency of such irreverent assertions, and exceptionable points of doctrine, as could not be suffered to pass unnoticed, without abandoning the interests of Religion and Truth to the ravages of Infidelity, artfully disguised with the specious mask of reverence for the Sacred PAGE: *in which*, according to St. Peter's declaration speaking of St. Paul's epistles, *are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned, and unstable, Wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction* (*w*).

COROLLARIES.

(*s*) Matt. 13. 31, 32. (*t*) Matt. 16. 18.

(*u*) Script, Researches, p. 58. (*w*) II. Peter, c. 3. v. 16.

C O R O L L A R I E S.

I. SINCE every one who believes the Holy Scriptures to be the infallible Word of God, and to contain several things, which are above the reach of human reason, though none contrary to it, must in all such incomprehensible matters, submit his reason to the Divine Authority that sanctions them; whoever insists, that every part of Holy Scripture is under the immediate control of human Reason, so as not to be assented to unless exactly conformable to the limited ideas of mere human reason, and amenable to its authority, subjects the authority of God to that of human reason, and cannot, on this account, be said to believe that the Holy Scriptures are the infallible Word of God.

II. SINCE whoever writes or speaks irreverently of any part of the Sacred Volume, or condemns any particular transaction registered in it, when positively sanctioned and justified by Divine Authority, is guilty of both Infidelity and Blasphemy; every one of my Antagonists, who are evidently convicted in the preceding Tract of having thus written, are absolutely guilty of both the crimes.

III. SINCE to abuse any part of the inspired Writings in support of any tenet incompatible with Scripture, by wilfully misconstruing or mutilating the same, is a blasphemous imputation on the eternal veracity of God, essentially incapable of contradicting himself; such of my Antagonists as have been convicted in the preceding

preceding Tract of thus misusing the Sacred Writings, have evidently incurred the heinous guilt of that imputation.

IV. SINCE some things are forbidden in the Sacred Writings, because intrinsically, and in their nature; they are bad and illicit, and others are declared illicit and bad merely because they are forbidden; any pursuit whatever mentioned in the Sacred Writings, not coming within the above prohibitions, and not abrogated by the Christian Law (for instance, the Slave-Trade), must be essentially good in its nature, and may therefore be lawfully practised by the Professors of Christianity.

V. SINCE in any Controversy whatever, it is an evident indication of a defenceless Cause, to impute to our Opponents what they never advanced, and to conclude from such imputed assertions what we could not otherwise conclude in favour of our opposite opinion from a fair statement of their doctrine; the numerous instances of such ungenerous proceeding in the conduct of my antagonists, so visible in the series of the foregoing Review, must be so many evident indications of the indefensible nature of their Cause.

VI. SINCE to attempt to throw an odium on our Opponents doctrine, by reflecting with any species of scurrility and personal abuse on their private religious and personal circumstances unconnected with the subject in debate, is so far from lessening the force of their arguments, or adding strength to ours, that it plainly indicates the ruinous situation of our cause; the many reiterated like attempts of my antagonists,

hardly noticed in the foregoing Review, but frequently occurring in some of their Publications, must be so many strong indications, that their cause would inevitably sink, were it not buoyed up by the stream of scurrility and personal abuse.

THE CONCLUSION.

THE fashionable subject of the preceding Work not being before attempted in the manner in which it is now exhibited to the public, it would be the height of presumption in me to imagine, that it is not susceptible of considerable improvements. I have this satisfaction however, that what has hitherto appeared against it, far from detecting any real imperfection or blemish, seems clearly to evince the firmness and stability of its principles, which, being those of Religion and Truth, neither sophistry nor impiety will ever affect; any more than that unchristian spirit of bitterness and rancour, of invective and calumny, which, however unbecoming the Character of a Christian Advocate for HUMANITY, is yet the most distinguishing and prominent feature in the productions of my Antagonists.

There is moreover in the conduct of some of them, whom I have the satisfaction to know, a manifest inconsistency of principle, which affords the justest grounds to suspect the purity of their intentions in calumniating the conduct of so many respectable individuals, as are engaged in the African Slave-Trade; for,

for, whilst they are stigmatizing this branch of Traffic with every accumulation of guilt, calling it a *cruel, iniquitous, infamous, abominable and detested Traffic*; a violation of all things civil and sacred (x); an unlawful practice, inimical to the general welfare and interests of mankind; and a species of oppression, which involves in it almost every other kind of guilt (y); we see these very upright and conscientious Casuists, enjoy without the least symptom of remorse, and with a perfect serenity of conscience, the fruits of a Traffic, big, as they say, with enormities of the greatest bulk.

In effect; Messrs. Dannett and the anonymous Refuters, who thus inveigh against the Africa Slave-trade, as well as against every other respectable Character who is engaged in that pursuit, are now at this very time in actual enjoyment of places and emoluments, the principal source and foundation of which is that very Traffic, against which they so vehemently declaim. If the Trade be unjust, as they pretend; the fruits of it must be the fruits of injustice: therefore to condemn the former, and cherish the latter, is to condemn injustice in its cause, and to sanctify it in its effects: it is to shew, that, whatever their ostensible pretensions may be, it is neither Justice nor Humanity that actuates their zeal, but something very different from both: whatever this may be, it is an unavoidable inference, that, by condemning in others what they practise themselves, they become inexcusable in the sight of God and man: *Thou, says the Apostle, which teachest others, teachest thou not thyself? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou*

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(x) Dannett, p. 72, 73. (y) Script. Refut. p. 63, 79.

thou steal (z)? Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself: for thou that judgest, doest the same things (a).

The engagement I made with the Public some time ago, is a sufficient reason for republishing at the close of this Work what appeared at that time in some of the public prints. I have, I think, strictly adhered to the terms of my engagement in the composition of the foregoing REVIEW. I hope the Reader will find it so, when he has perused the following lines.

A H I N T

From the AUTHOR of the SCRIPTURAL RESEARCHES on the Licitness of the SLAVE-TRADE, as a preparatory Reply to the very scurrilous and illiterate Pamphlets of his Antagonists.

—— mark, in dirty hole,
 That painful animal, a Mole:
 Above ground never born to go,
 What mighty stir it keeps below!
 To make a Mole-hill all this strife!
 It digs, pokes, undermines for life.
 How proud a little dirt to spread!
 Conscious of nothing o'er its head.
 Till lab'ring on for want of eyes,
 It blunders into light—and dies.

Remarks on the DUNCIAD.

“ FRIEND,

(z) Rom. c. 2. v. 21. (a) Ibid. v. 1.

"FRIEND, thou must certainly be in the wrong, for thou art exceedingly abusive and wroth without any provocation," said an old calm Philosopher to a certain pragmatistical Pedant, who, unable to refute his System of morality with fair and rational arguments, inveighed against him and his doctrine with every species of scurrility, misrepresentation, and personal abuse. The Philosopher's observation, which never, to my knowledge, has been called in question by the judicious part of mankind, is perfectly applicable to a set of Theological Apprentices, who, though absolute strangers to the subject of my *Scriptural Researches*, and unable to follow a thread of fact and argument, have yet attempted to subvert the Scriptural Doctrine, there established, by the same *persuasive substitutes* of fair argumentation, as were employed by the above illiterate and angry Pedant. Had the rancorous and unprovoked effusions of their anger (very unbecoming the meek and gentle spirit of *Christian Humanity*) extended no farther than scurrility and personal invective,

— I had not unlock'd my lips
In this unhallow'd air :

The decency I owe to the Public, as a Writer, and, as a Gentleman to myself, would have secured them from every kind of recrimination and reply ; but since they have carried their *humane* effrontery so far, as to attempt the minds of the Public with the grossest imputations, falsehoods, and impiety, the justice I owe to that Public, to the Cause of Virtue, and to myself, will not suffer me to overlook, in criminal silence, so vile a prostitution of the most sacred principles of reason, religion, and truth. It is this unpardonable prostitution, so derogatory to the cause they pretend to support, that I mean to exhibit to the Public in my intended Reply, in which I hope to demonstrate, in as succinct a manner as the subject will permit, the glaring falseness of their imputations, the palpable fallacy of their chimerical objections, and the insidious tendency of such dangerous tenets as are severally dispersed in their respective publications : neither do I entertain the least apprehension, that the indefatigable pains they have taken to eclipse the Scriptural Doctrine of the licitness of the Slave-Trade, by raising in opposition to it, with incredible exertions, a contemptible Mole-hill of futilities

— Prankt in reason's garb,

will

will not, when these impious futilities are brought to light, bring them to the inglorious end of the emblematic MOLE.

Three things I have here to observe before I take a temporary leave from the Public.

1st: That in my next Publication, which will certainly make its appearance in its proper time, I shall not prostitute to the ignoble purpose of personal resentment the pen that I consecrated in my first to the vindication of Justice and Truth.

2d. That, if I happen occasionally to press my Antagonists a little warmly, it shall be done with decency: they shall never have the satisfaction to see my Publication stained with rancorous aspersions. Bad indeed must be that cause which needs the infamous aid of illiberal invectives in its support!

3d. That, by thus announcing myself to the Public, I do not mean to enter into a Newspaper contest with any of my Antagonists: let their provocations be ever so insulting, I shall read their lucubrations with the most silent apathy: all I mean is to assure the Public, that, far from giving up the Cause I have espoused to the impotent efforts of my adversaries, I am now preparing for the press, what, I am confident, will add a considerable weight of conviction to my former Defence, and unvizard, at the same time, these insidious pretenders to Justice and Religion.

T H E E N D.







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